THE EXPOSITOR

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THE EXPOSITOR

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HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

V. Date of the Epistle.

That the Pastoral Epistles could not have been written by Paul during the journeys which are described in Acts, may be taken as certain. It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments by which Lightfoot and others have demonstrated this. Our present aim is not to put together all that can be said about these Epistles, but rather to place the reader at the point of view, from which they ought to be contemplated by the historian. Regarded in the proper perspective, they are historically perhaps the most illuminative of all the Pauline Epistles ; and this is the best and the one sufficient proof that they are authentic compositions, emanating each complete from the mind of one author. No work whose composer makes his first object to assume the personality of another can attain such historical significance : it cannot express the infinite variety of real life unless it is written naturally and for its own sake.

Much is therefore here assumed, which is well said in every one of the many good editions of the Epistles, sometimes with one opinion as regards authorship, sometimes with another. The impossibility of an earlier date for the letters has recently been shown more clearly by the ingenious attempts which have been made by some scholars to place them in that earlier period. Either these letters were not written by Paul, or they were written by him during a part of his life later than that which is described by Luke, i.e., in other words, Paul was acquitted at the end of his two

years' imprisonment in Rome, and resumed his missionary work at the end of 61 or beginning of 62 A.D.

The arguments against this later date of composition seem to be devoid of all weight. It is said that Paul shows no resentment against the Imperial government on account of the massacre of A.D. 64. Those who rely on this argument quote 1 Timothy ii. 2, "(that supplications be made) for sovereigns and for all that are in high place," as showing a perfectly friendly spirit to the Imperial government, which was characteristic of Paul's feelings at an earlier time, but which they think incredible after the barbarities of A.D. 64. This argument contemplates the situation from a wrong point of view. Paul is enunciating a general principle of order in the Service of the Church; and he uses the generic plural "sovereigns," in the sense of "the reigning sovereign, whosoever he may be from time to time," and adds, "all who are in authority" in order to make the universality of the principle quite plain. Paul continued after 64 to think as he thought before about government. His mixed feelings towards the Empire are described in the final part of the present writer's *Cities of St. Paul;* but an ordered government, governors and a people obedient to them, always and necessarily formed the basis of his conception of society. Were Christians never to pray for the sovereign because Nero was a monster? Would Paul lose all his confidence in the possibilities of development in the Empire for that one reason? As soon as the question is put rightly, the falsity of the argument is evident. Paul could not have interrupted his advice about the order of Church Service to make an exception about Nero, or to express his detestation of Nero, without ceasing to be Paul. If the letter were expressed in such a form as those who have advanced this argument demand, that would in our view be a sufficient proof that it was not written by Paul; and the same infer-

ence would probably be drawn by the very persons who have used the counter-argument.

Another argument against a date later than the period embraced in Acts is found in the absence of any reference to the great events which were taking place in Palestine from 66 A.D. onwards. This argument, also, shows a want of historical perspective. Why should Paul, writing in A.D. 66 or 67, be unable to compose a letter to Timothy or to Titus on subjects such as come up in these letters without alluding to the Jewish insurrection, which was now only in its initial stage ? This is the *argumentum a silentio* carried to the greatest extreme that I remember to have seen. Even if Paul had been writing in 68 or 69, there is no apparent reason why he must discuss the progress of the war in these letters ; but when it was barely begun, it is inconceivable, and irreconcilable with the spirit of Paul's work, that it should force itself into letters such as these, where Jewish matters are alluded to only in the slightest and most distant way.

A third and at first sight a much more reasonable argument against the hypothesis that later journeys than those described in the Acts are alluded to in the Pastoral Epistles is found in the words used by Paul himself at Miletus to the Ephesian Presbyters in A.D. 57, " I know that ye all, among whom I went about preaching the kingdom, shall see my face no longer." Here is apparently a prophecy which was never fulfilled. Is it possible to suppose either that Paul would suggest to the Presbyters the idea that he would never see them again, if this were not going to be the case, or that Luke would have recorded the prophecy if it had been falsified by future events ?

In this case also this argument is based on a false conception, and puts the question from a wrong and misleading point of view. As to Luke's recording the matter, we

should not ask whether he would have recorded an unfulfilled and actually falsified prophecy, but whether he recorded events of history and the speeches of Paul correctly and exactly.[1] Was his intention in writing history to tell the facts as they happened, or to make out that the words of Paul and other Christians were always proved to be exact anticipations of the course of future events ? The answer to this question cannot be for a moment doubtful, except among those who start with the radically false conception of his character and of the spirit of early Christian history, against which I have been contending throughout all that I have written on this subject. Luke's object was to describe events as they happened : he was full of that sublime confidence in the facts, which animated all the great leaders of the early Church. No management, no manipulation of facts, no anxiety, was required on their side : they had only to listen to the Spirit, to obey the guidance of facts, and their part was done : success was certain without any attempt of theirs to direct the development of events : they might fail to understand the current of events at the moment, but all must be well in the end, so long as they obeyed the Divine Spirit implicitly. Accordingly, if Paul said he would not see the Presbyters again, Luke would record this, whether or not Paul did in the issue see them again. So he records the prophecy of Agabus xxi. 11, though it was not exactly fulfilled ; and this record has been used as evidence against him and as proof of his inaccuracy.[2] So, again, he records the two slightly varying accounts given by Paul of the details of the scene " nigh unto Damascus " (xxii. 5 ff. ; xxvi. 12 ff.), and himself gives a third account slightly differing from both, without any attempt to manipulate them into

[1] Of course abbreviating, but never misrepresenting, the speeches.

[2] This point is briefly noticed in the first paper of the present writer's *Luke the Physician.*

exact agreement with each other. So in the present case there is no reason to think that he would have hesitated to record Paul's forecast of the future or that he would have refrained from telling that the Brethren were specially sorrowful on account of this, even though in the future the forecast was not justified.

The question that remains, therefore, is simply whether it is possible that Paul could have made a statement to the Ephesian Presbyters which even suggested anything that was not exactly and precisely in accordance with the actual course of his future action in later years. In other words, did Paul never change his plans, or were his first intentions, when once announced to any one, like the laws of the Medes and Persians which cannot be altered? To put the question thus is to answer it. It is a mistake to regard his words as a prophecy or a forecast of the future. They are simply an explicit statement of his plan of campaign in the Roman world (already announced by Luke, xix. 21). It would be ridiculous and irrational to argue that he never changed or could change his mind. He was always guided by the current of contemporary forces, and he always seized the opportunity, even if presented unexpectedly, of the open door. He wished in autumn A.D. 50 to go from Galatia into the Province Asia (doubtless to Ephesus, as Hort long ago perceived); then he planned to go into Bithynia. We can hardly doubt that he mentioned these plans to his travelling companions, and probably to the Galatian Churches also. He certainly made and announced and altered plans about returning to Thessalonica in A.D. 51. In the course of his stay at Ephesus and later he formed and announced and then changed his plans with regard to visiting Corinth (as is admitted by every scholar, with different conjectures as to the order of variation in his plans). What reason is there to think that he might not change his intentions with

regard to seeing the Ephesian Presbyters again ? There is absolutely no reason to think so, and the change throws much light on his mind and his history, as we shall see.

But, it is maintained, the words which he uses in xx. 25 constitute a far more formal and solemn assurance with regard to the future than a mere announcement of plans with regard to a journey ; and it seems more strange that such a serious statement as that should be belied in the event. This argument is based on a misconception of the passage, the words and the intention. Paul, in this speech, was merely summing up and concluding the past. He (or rather Luke, who reported in briefer terms the speech) was in one word describing a wide-reaching plan, which he had had definitely and explicitly before him for more than a year. This plan is clearly intimated both by Luke in xix. 21 and by Paul in several parts of the Epistles to Rome and to Corinth. The plan was formed some time before he left Ephesus ; and the words in xix. 21 are intended to imply that it was then clearly enunciated to his friends and associates and to the Churches generally. He conceived that his work in the Aegean world was now so far completed, and that the next stage was about to begin, viz., the Roman stage. He was to occupy the central city of the Empire, and work there in a similar wide-reaching fashion to that in which he had worked at Ephesus. But, whereas he had at Ephesus affected the whole Province Asia, a wide sphere, yet after all a restricted one, he would at Rome affect a much wider sphere, for as all the Asian cities looked to Ephesus and their citizens came sometimes to Ephesus, so the whole Empire looked to Rome and all cities sent to Rome and were influenced from Rome. It was, of course, true that, the wider the sphere, the more attenuated was the influence exerted on the distant parts ; and therefore a residence in Rome was not by itself sufficient, but would require to be supplemented by personal

work in outlying regions. The East, however, had already seen Paul's face, as he thought, sufficiently. Just as he had never seen Colossae and Laodiceia and Hierapolis, so (as he thought) would it now be possible for him to communicate even with Ephesus sufficiently by letter and by coadjutors. The outlying parts of the West would demand his presence more imperatively ; and from Rome his intention was to go on to Spain.[1]

Such was the bold, magnificent, and statesmanlike plan which filled Paul's mind during the years 56–57. The visit to Spain was the complement of the intention not to revisit Ephesus. The two parts of the plan fitted one another, and it would be as unreasonable to argue from the words of Paul that he must necessarily have carried out the plan to visit Spain, if he lived, as it is to infer that he could not after all have revisited Ephesus, if he lived.

One thing only was wanted to crown with completion his work in the four Provinces, Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia ; and that was to bind these new Gentile Churches into unity and brotherhood with the original Church at Jerusalem. To cement that unity was a necessary part of his work ; and the visit to Jerusalem was present in his thoughts from the moment when the plan began to form itself in his mind : hence Luke, with his usual command over all the essential and critical facts of his subject, mentions it as part of the plan in his very brief account of Paul's scheme, xix. 21. Paul's mind was full of this idea as he spoke to the

[1] Incidentally, it deserves notice that this scheme (Rom. xv. 28) furnishes a clear proof that Paul knew Latin, and intended to address himself to the people of the Spanish cities in Latin. He could not be dreaming of addressing them in Greek ; but Latin was sufficient for his purposes. Spain was thoroughly Latinized, and the Spanish cities were all raised to the Latin rank a few years later by Vespasian. Greek was never known by the people except in a few Greek colonies on the east coast of Spain ; and it is doubtful whether even in them it was used as late as A.D. 57. That Paul spoke Latin is argued in *St. Paul the Traveller.*

Ephesian elders. The visit to Jerusalem was necessary to accomplish his course, though he knew that bonds and afflictions awaited him there. He must go, because he was taking with him the representatives of the Churches in the four Provinces and the contributions of all the congregations, to attest their unity in spirit and their sympathy in worldly fortunes with the original mother-congregation in Jerusalem. Syrian Antioch had long ago been bound to Jerusalem by rendering help to the poor there in their hour of greatest need. Paul knew that men continue to like and take an interest in those whom they have benefited ; and he trusted to the permanent effect of this charity to cement the unity of all the Eastern Churches, while he devoted himself to Rome and the West.

Hence, as he was starting on the voyage from Miletus to Jerusalem, he told his hearers that in accordance with the plan of work, which was well known to them, they should no longer see his face. In saying this he was addressing, not merely the Ephesians, but all the four Provinces present through their delegates. It has been elsewhere pointed out that this speech passes insensibly from the narrower to the wider address, and that this change is characteristic of a real speech and inconsistent with the theory of fabrication by Luke : it is also very characteristic of Paul and suitable to the occasion. He was hereafter not to go about among these his first Churches, but to work in another region. He is not here thinking of death which should divide him from them. He is not speaking as a prophet, forecasting the future. He is simply announcing the end of one stage and the entrance on a new stage. The occasion was affecting and solemn ; and the words correspond to the occasion. But there is in the situation and the words nothing that in any way conflicts with the possibility that future events may have overturned Paul's plans, and that he after all found

it advisable to return to his Churches in the four Provinces.

The question arises, whether this voyage to Jerusalem was not the occasion when Paul wrote the first letter to Timothy after having left him in Ephesus before he started for Macedonia (Acts xx. 1), and having again sent him to Ephesus with or after the Presbyters, when they returned from Miletus to Ephesus. On shipboard, sailing from Miletus towards Jerusalem, might not Paul have composed this letter? Such is the ingenious suggestion of Mr. Vernon Bartlet. It is tempting at first sight; but, apart from other considerations, the words of 1 Timothy iv. 13 are fatal to it. Paul, when he wrote this letter, was clearly purposing to come back to Ephesus and rejoin Timothy there: "Till I come, give heed to reading, to exhortation, to teaching." It is inconceivable that, a few days after bidding the Ephesian Presbyters farewell for ever, when (as we have seen) his mind was filled with the other grandiose idea), Paul should have written to Timothy intimating the intention to come again. We can understand that future events disturbed the great plan; but we cannot understand that Paul should have within a few days changed his mind on this subject without any pressure of circumstances constraining him.

VI. Organization of the Pauline Churches.

The administration of his newly founded Churches was a matter of the first interest to Paul. When he had been expelled suddenly from Antioch, Iconium and Lystra, in succession, and had been compelled to leave them without arrangements for their regular administration, he returned to them, and completed a form of organization of a new kind more akin to the character of Hellenic cities or Roman colonies: he appointed Presbyters by election.[1]

[1] I think it is necessary to understand that the principle of election was instituted; the word χειροτονήσαντες, xiv. 23, might not be sufficient to prove this, taken alone; but in conjunction with subsequent custom and

When Timothy was sent to Thessalonica during Paul's visit to Athens, he did there the same work which Paul had done in Antioch, Iconium and Lystra, and would fain have done in Thessalonica by returning there at the earliest possible opportunity, had not Satan hindered him. That the work was done by Timothy appears from 1 Thessalonians iii. 2 f., "We sent Timothy to establish you and to comfort you concerning your faith; that no man be moved by these afflictions; for yourselves know that hereunto we are appointed": compare with this the account of Paul's work when he returned to the three Galatian cities: "Confirming the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to continue in the Faith, and that through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God." The verses which follow the words just quoted from the Epistle show that Paul's anxiety was that the Thessalonians should "continue in the Faith." The agreement in idea and even in form between the Acts and the Epistle is here so perfect, that there can remain no doubt: Timothy was sent to do in Thessalonica what Paul himself went back to do in the Galatian cities.

Now Paul did something more in the Galatian Churches; Acts xiv. 23, "And when they had appointed for them elders in every Church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed." In the letter Paul commends the Thessalonians to the Lord (v. 23), and prays for them (iii. 11–13), as we may be sure that Timothy also had done with them. One thing alone remains: presbyters were chosen in the Galatian Churches. Surely Timothy must have been charged to look after this matter also. There were officials, who were over the Thessalonian Church, at the time when Paul was writing his letter. Owing to the suddenness and secrecy of his departure from

with Paul's allusions to aiming at office and with Greek habits it must be read in this way.

the city, he could not have appointed them in preparation for that event; and the apparently backward condition of the congregation in respect of knowledge and comprehension of the Faith seems to show that they had not progressed so far as to be constituted into a regular Church with officials before the riots broke out. Everything alike in the Acts and in the Epistle points to the conclusion that all four Churches, Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Thessalonica, were in the same condition of incomplete organization when Paul was forced to go away; and this was the reason of the extreme anxiety that Paul had felt about the Thessalonian congregation. On this account he thought it good to be left at Athens alone and to send Timothy to Thessalonica.[1]

Paul's action in those cases must be regarded as a proof of the high value that he attached to administration and government. The organization of each young Church was

[1] Some difficulty has been felt as to the way of reconciling the narrative in the Acts with the allusions which Paul makes in his letter to the movements of Timothy. According to the former Paul was convoyed from Beroea to the sea-coast by some of the brethren. At the coast some change occurred in his plans; and the brethren brought him to Athens, and returned to Beroea carrying a message to Silas and Timothy to come to Paul with all speed. The residence in Athens was evidently cut short, and it was in Corinth that Silas and Timothy rejoined Paul. Luke says nothing about Timothy's mission to Thessalonica; and, if we had only the Acts to go by, we should understand that Timothy with Silas returned from Beroea to join Paul, and finding in Athens that he had gone to Corinth followed him thither. But from Paul himself we gather that he sent directions from Athens to Timothy to go to Thessalonica, and that the latter came from Thessalonica to rejoin him. There seems to be no inconsistency between the two. The one adds to the other, but does not disagree with it. Paul sent from Athens to Timothy and Silas, bidding them come to him there with all speed; to this we must add that they were to use all speed in finishing up their work. That they had some work in hand may be regarded as certain: Paul and his subordinates were always busy. That they had separate pieces of work in hand is shown by the whole situation: there were two pieces of work to do: Paul himself was prevented from doing them. The inference is that Timothy was to come to Athens through Thessalonica, confirming the Church there and appointing officials, while Silas was to finish up the work at Beroea, and then come on to Athens. Finally both came to him in Corinth "from Macedonia": if they had both come from Beroea, Luke would naturally have said "from Beroea."

the prime necessity, and must in one way or another be arranged.

From his earlier letters, taken by themselves, we might fail to gather that he had such a strong sense of the importance of organization and good government; and this has led many scholars to doubt the Pauline origin of the Pastoral Epistles. But the earlier letters are all suggested by special occasions and special needs. It was not part of his subject in them to lay stress on administration; yet even in them there are signs that he was quite alive to its importance. He not merely saw the overwhelming importance of unity among all the scattered Churches in the one great body: he knew also that this unity could not be attained without a suitable government and mutual fitting of the parts to one another in each congregation. Each Church by itself must be composed, not of absolutely homogeneous individuals, but of individuals working together for the common good in different lines; and there must be persons charged with the superintendence of the corporate life.

One single example may be mentioned, where Paul's language in a letter is guided by his sense for organization in a congregation. The Church at Thessalonica was in need of further instruction on several points, about which it entertained imperfect ideas; and the first Epistle was written to explain the points in question; but at the end Paul gives advice of a general kind to a young congregation, in which the corporate life was still not strong (1 Thess. v. 12–22). In this advice the first thing that he lays stress on is the duty of obedience to the officials, recognition of their character, and an affectionate esteem for them on account of the work that they were doing.

There is another reason why this side of Paul's mind and work has been too little noticed by many modern scholars: we have very little information about the way in which his

Churches were organized; and, if government had been so important in his estimation, they infer that we should have known more on the subject. The little information which we possess is so obscure and conflicting, that Church organization must be regarded as at that time still unimportant and merely inchoate. That the organization was in an elementary stage and that much development was still to come, is of course admitted and certain; but that was inseparable from the situation. Paul took an important step in this development: he found the Church in one stage, he carried it into another.

The form of government in the Pauline Churches, so far as described in the Acts, was simply through Presbyters. These were evidently different in character from the Presbyteroi of the early Church in Jerusalem, who apparently were not officials, but merely men of age and experience whose influence in the congregation rested, not on formal appointment or selection, but on time and wisdom: they were distinguished from the Neoteroi, whose vigorous age was suited for the active parts of congregational work (e.g., Acts v. 6).[1] Paul's Presbyteroi were in a true sense officers, chosen on account of their fitness and trusted with authority, as he impressed on the Thessalonians, 1, v. 12, where they are called by the general term "who are over you," *προϊστάμενοι*. This term was probably chosen in order to convey a sense of their authoritative and governing position. That these officials were of the same kind as the Presbyters in Galatia can hardly be doubted, although the word is not used. In Luke's history we must regard the first case as intended to be typical of the rest.

That the work of the Presbyters was *Episkope*, i.e., surveillance of the common interests and corporate life of the

[1] So Hellenic cities in Asia Minor generally contained assemblies or societies of the Neoi or Men and the Presbyteroi or Elders.

Church, cannot be doubted. As they were charged with the duty of *Episkope*, they are called *Episkopoi* by Paul in Acts xx. 28. That they were also teachers and preachers is a matter of course. Every Christian ought in his own way to be a teacher and preacher, when occasion offered ;[1] and *a fortiori* the outstanding and distinguished Christians should be so. Now *Episkope* was in Luke's estimation the duty of the Apostles in the early congregation at Jerusalem (Acts i. 20) : he therefore considered that the Pauline Presbyters were a device for the performance, at least in part, of the duties that were discharged by the Twelve in the original congregation.

Luke does not allude to Deacons in the Pauline Churches ; but they are mentioned in the Epistle to the Philippians, where the officials are addressed as " Bishops and Deacons." These two kinds of officials were therefore in existence as early as A.D. 61. Now, Luke regards *Diakonia*, like *Episkope*, as the duty of the Twelve at Jerusalem originally ;[2] and it seems clear that in Luke's estimation Deacons, like Presbyters, performed work which fell to the Apostles in the first Church.

It is remarkable that, if this is so, Luke should nowhere mention the institution of Deacons in the Pauline Churches ; and the fact becomes all the more noteworthy when we take into consideration that the general character of the views which are expressed in the letter to Timothy approximates closely to the point of view on which the book of the Acts is written. The writer of that book was entirely under Paul's influence and guidance. He had heard and learned from Paul the same ideas, with regard to the practical working of a congregation, which are here stated by the Apostle to

[1] 1 Thess. v. 12 and 14 : the same word is applied to the duty of the ordinary members and of the προιστάμενοι in the congregation.

[2] Acts i. 17 ; vi. 4.

Timothy. Luke wrote with a strong sense of the importance of good administration and good government in a congregation. He traces step by step down to a certain point the growth of administrative machinery in the Church, the filling up of the College of Apostles, the formation of a Church fund, the appointment of the Seven, the government of the Church of Syrian Antioch by a college of prophets and teachers, similar in general character to the College of Apostles at Jerusalem. His interest in this topic springs from his recognition of the fact that a well-governed Church will be more vigorous and more healthy, and will stand on a higher level of moral character, than a badly organized one. That was also the view on which Paul worked, and his methods can never be understood unless one keeps that fact in mind.

Why, then, does Luke not mention the appointment of Deacons in the Pauline Churches? His silence ceases to be surprising, if we take into account that his work was left unfinished. The earliest stage of the Pauline organization knew only Presbyters; in the second stage Deacons were added. The occasion when this development occurred was later than the arrival of Paul in Rome. That Luke, who thoroughly appreciated the importance of Church organization, should intend to leave his readers with so defective a conception of it, seems as improbable as that the writer, who so well comprehended the nature of Paul's great Roman plan,[1] should bring the Apostle to Rome and dismiss his further work in a brief sentence.

The relation between Presbyters and Deacons in the Pauline Churches remains utterly obscure. It is not within Luke's purpose to tell what were the powers or duties of the Presbyters. His readers were familiar with the facts of their own Church; and his object was to relate what was

[1] See the preceding Section.

useful for them. That there must have been some difference of function between the two classes of officials is evident. The fact that the Diaconate was later in origin implies that it was intended for some purpose which previously was not satisfactorily attained. In the Pastoral Epistles there is no suggestion that higher qualifications were required for one position than for the other ; yet it was inevitable that one should be less dignified than the other. The analogy of the Twelve and the Seven was not without effect. The Deacons ranked in relation to the Presbyters, as the Seven to the Twelve, and probably also as the Neoteroi to the Presbyteroi in the earliest Church. Duties which required more personal effort were assigned to the Deacons, as younger men. But the qualifications were practically the same, though the Bishop or Presbyter is more closely scrutinized, because his position is the more honourable.

Nor is any quality required in a Bishop or a Deacon, which is not required in every Christian. The sole condition for office is that the candidate shall be approved as a thoroughly good member of the Church. The Deacon has the opportunity of gaining reputation and standing in the congregation. Thus he has an advantage over the ordinary Christian if he " seeketh the office of a Bishop " ; but this advantage is accidental, and there is no suggestion that the Diaconate was preparatory to the office of Bishop, still less that the two constituted in any way a different class or order from the mass of members of the Church.

Women Deacons are clearly referred to in 1 Timothy iii. 11. This makes it probable that the Diaconate was not in the same way an office as the position of Bishop or Presbyter was.[1] It carried with it no authority in the Church. It was in itself only a burden ; but the person selected to bear the burden was thereby honoured, and the eyes of all were

[1] ii. 12, a woman must not teach, nor hold authority.

on the Deacon. As being thus regarded by all, a true Deacon was likely to be stimulated to the fullest performance of the duties of a true Christian.

The meaning of the regulation in iii. 2, 12, v. 9, has been much discussed ; but beyond question it means only " monogamistic " in the fullest and purest sense : it neither forbids second marriage, nor enjoins marriage. The writer of the Pastoral Epistles did not differ in this respect from the writer who praised celibacy and devotion to the divine life when he wrote to the Corinthians. This point needs no elaboration. It is insisted on by Paul merely because he had to emphasize the higher standard of moral purity in the Christian Church. Every Christian, and not merely a Bishop, must be strictly monogamistic.

While the Presbyterate of the Pastorals [1] is clearly an office of authority in the congregation, there is no reason to think that the authority rested on the office in itself. The honour in which the Presbyter was held is based on the way in which the office was filled, just as it is in 1 Thessalonians v. 12. The Presbyter had authority in certain departments of congregational life. He ought to be regarded with loving honour on account of his work, because he convinced men by his deeds that he deserved honour. He was officially a teacher. But all Christians taught, all spoke and prayed in the assembly : the older members of the Church were regarded with honour : even Timothy ought not to reprove a person older than himself. The Bishop, as Paul desires to see him, is simply the best and most typical Christian in the congregation, and honour is paid to him on that account.

The organization of the Church in the Pastoral Epistles, therefore, is not apparently advanced one step beyond that

[1] Presbyter is the term used in v. 17 ff., Tit. i. 5–9, to indicate the Bishop of iii. 1 ff.

of the Church in Philippi in A.D. 61. We have in them the Pauline Church as it was in the later years of Paul's life, whether or not he survived the first trial in Rome. But we see no reason to doubt for a moment that he survived it, and returned to the Aegean lands and Churches.

The Pastoral Epistles show us a series of glimpses into the management and the actual condition of the Pauline Churches in the Aegean world. The demand for obedience and respect to the officials was urgently needed. Disorder was rife in the congregations. The struggle to establish the authority of the officials continued throughout the first century; and its later stage appears in Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians.

VII. The False Teachers.

The teachers whose action in the Asian cities Paul dreaded and urged Timothy to resist, were evidently members of the congregations, whose intentions were in themselves not reprehensible. They felt prompted to speak and to teach; and they gave expression to their views, since it was customary for any of the Brethren to speak in the assembled congregation as the Spirit moved them, both men and women. Scenes of disorder were apt to arise if several spoke simultaneously; and Paul had to repress the unseemliness of such public appearances. He especially discouraged the women from speaking in the congregation, though, of course, considering what his views were as to the free action of the Holy Spirit and as to the equality of all human beings, Jew and Gentile, slaves and freemen, male and female, in the presence of God, it was impossible for him to go so far as positively to forbid any woman whom the Spirit moved to speak. But he could, and did, forbid them to teach, and to hold an office of authority over men.

But the teachers, whom he has in mind in this letter, were

persons who went beyond mere speaking in the public assembly, and set up as professional teachers or lecturers. He accuses them of desiring to make money by their teaching, " supposing that godliness is a way of gain " (vi. 5). Now Paul did not think that it was wrong for the teachers or evangelists in the Church to be paid and maintained by the Church. On the contrary, he entirely approved of this custom and defended it. There is no reason to think that the writer of the Pastoral Epistles differed from Paul and disapproved of such payment. He is referring to another matter. These teachers whom he disliked so much were not the regularly chosen officials of the congregation, but volunteers, who set up as teachers with the intention to make a business and a means of livelihood out of the Word of God : " the falsely-called knowledge, which some professing[1] have erred " : vi. 21. In Titus i. 11 the phrase " for filthy lucre's sake " is directed against the same class of persons, but the English version is open to misunderstanding, as if all lucre, i.e. pay gained by teaching, were disgraceful. It is only money gained by bad or false teaching that is disgraceful ; and the passage might be rendered, " who make a gain that is dishonourable by teaching what they ought not."

We are here placed in view of Christian society in a certain stage of its development. The historical question is whether this stage is a very early one, or whether it belongs to the end of the first century or even to the middle of the second century, which is the date that some have assigned

[1] ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι regularly implies that the persons mentioned came before the public with promises in order to gain supporters : it is applied to candidates for municipal favour and votes in the Greek cities, who publicly announced what they intended to do for the general benefit, if they gained popular support. The word used in Tit. i. 16 " they profess that they know God " is ὁμολογοῦσιν, which carries no such connotation and should rather be rendered " they confess," or " acknowledge " that God has been duly and properly set before them, and have not the excuse of ignorance, but their actions show revolt from Him.

for the composition of the Pastoral Epistles. It obviously would not be possible that at the time when Paul was writing Galatians or Thessalonians, difficulties of this kind would be of such serious importance that his attention should be largely directed to them. In that first stage of the growth of a newly founded congregation matters of that kind would be comparatively unimportant. Paul's attention in that stage is mainly directed (1) to making his own doctrine clearer and better understood by the congregations, (2) to combating the doctrine of missionaries coming in to preach a doctrine opposed to his own and in his opinion fundamentally false and fatal, (3) to rebuking, correcting and punishing moral faults and vices among his converts, faults largely arising from the persistence in them of their original pagan standard of morality and conduct. That third class of difficulties is similar to one of the two classes which are chiefly treated in 1 Timothy (see Section IV.). The others hardly appear in the Pastoral Epistles.

These amateur and volunteer teachers to whom Paul refers were setting up in their own congregation, and could have some hope of gaining a livelihood. That implies a Christian society and social character already formed in the congregation. The congregation must therefore have existed for some time. Can we suppose that, before Paul's death in A.D. 66, or at latest 67, his congregations in the Hellenic cities were already so far developed that rival teachers, official and unofficial, were in a way competing with one another ? I confess that this state of the congregations, so far from being of later character, seems to me to suit only with an early stage in their development, and to be irreconcilable with a second-century date. The only question is whether it belongs to A.D. 65 or to A.D. 90. I shall try to show that there is no reason why it should not exist between 60 and 70 A.D., though it doubtless continued for

some time. It was extirpated by establishing firmly the authority of the officials and forbidding all amateur teachers ; and Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians derives its importance largely from its having been accepted as settling finally the principle of obedience to the Church officers as such.

W. M. Ramsay.

THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT AND THE DECALOGUE.

In the Expositor for August and October, 1908, I tried to show that the Hebrews, as pictured in the narratives of Genesis, were semi-nomads, which were familiar with agriculture. I hinted that this might be of importance for the date of the laws designed to regulate the social life of old Israel.

It is generally accepted by the critical scholars of the school of Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen that the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant originated in the period of the monarchy. According to Professor Driver " it is reasonable to suppose that the teaching of Moses is preserved, in its least modified form, in the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant " (Exod. xx.-xxiii.).[1] This opinion, however, is rather conservative. Most scholars assume that the teaching of Moses could not possibly have any bearing upon agricultural life, the Israelites then being nomads. They suppose the Book of the Covenant to represent the law of the early monarchical period and assign it to the ninth or eighth century B.C. Some of them think it probable that the Decalogue was given by Moses in a much more concise form, as is now preserved in Exodus xx. and Deuteronomy v., but a large majority of critics assume with

[1] Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 1897, p. 153.

Kuenen and Wellhausen that the Decalogue originated in the eighth, seventh or even in the sixth century B.C.

In the following pages I intend to argue that the Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue may be assigned with great probability to the Mosaic period.

The argument for the later origin of these laws is twofold. It is rightly thought improbable that agricultural laws were given to nomad tribes, which were living by the products of flocks and herds. This part of the argument has been dealt with in the previous articles quoted above. Here we have to deal with the other part of it, viz., the result of the critical analysis of the narrative about Israel at Sinai.

It is a well-known fact that the structure of the narrative is very complicated. According to the opinion that prevails among scholars the result of the analysis is that the oldest forms of the various traditions about the events at Mount Sinai cannot have contained the Book of the Covenant. The original place of this book in the Elohistic work was in the fields of Moab, where Deuteronomy is found now. When Deuteronomy was published it was removed by an editor to this earlier point in the history of the legislation. The Decalogue of Exodus xx. is also assigned to the Elohist. The Jahvistic work also contained a Decalogue (Exod. xxxiv. 14–26). The ceremonial character of these commandments seems to prove that the ethical Decalogue of Exodus xx. is the younger one. The ceremonial Decalogue of Exodus xxxiv. is not yet touched by the prophetical ideas which we find in the Decalogue of Exodus xx. Evidently the ethical Decalogue is based on the teaching of the great prophets of the eighth century B.C.

I.

The narrative about the events at Mount Sinai is a diffi-

cult problem for the critical analysis. "Much has been written upon it; but though it displays plain marks of composition, it fails to supply the criteria requisite for distributing it in detail between the different narrators," says Driver (*Introd.*, p. 39). I will not enter in this article into a discussion about the probability of the usual analysis of the Hexateuch. Personally I am convinced that critics are on the wrong track, and that we never shall be able to explain the composite character of the Hexateuch, if we do not do away with the Jahvistic, Elohistic and Priestly works and the numerous younger Jahvistic, Elohistic and Priestly writers, which are indicated by J^{2-3}, E^{2-3}, P^{2-3}, etc. But the remark of Professor Driver shows that the different attempts of numerous scholars have not been able to offer a probable solution of the various difficulties which the narrative contains. Therefore it seems justifiable to discuss the origin of the Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue from a wholly independent point of view.

Evidently the argument of the critical analysis is not merely analytical. A good deal of belief in "Evolution" is involved in it. The prophets of the eighth century are supposed to have reached an ethical standard that was unknown in former ages. Formerly the Israelites believed that the bond between Israel and Jahve was a natural one, to the prophets this bond was not natural but moral and spiritual. The real demand which Jahve made of His people was righteousness and purity of national life. The cultus, therefore, was to the prophets an affair of quite subordinate importance. To the old Israelites "holy" meant "taboo," to them the holiness of God meant righteousness. The development of religious thought in Israel is supposed to be a confirmation of the word of St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 46), "First is that which is natural, then that which is spiritual."

One of the greatest contradictions in the Hexateuch is the difference between Exodus xx. and Exodus xxxiv. It is believed that according to the original form of the tradition the Decalogue of Exodus xx. was written upon the tablets of stone. Strangely enough the law that is written upon the second tablets of stone in Exodus xxxiv. is totally different from the contents of the first tables. The latter was chiefly of an ethical character, the former was purely ceremonial. Consequently the ceremonial Decalogue of Exodus xxxiv. 14–26, must be the older one, whereas first is what is ceremonial (natural), then that which is ethical (spiritual).

The history of religion teaches us that this view is entirely false. Religious ceremonies never are the sole contents of the will of God. Social and ethical commandments are always connected with religion. Everybody will admit that the Babylonian religion was full of ceremonies, yet we find in the oldest times, even in the superstitious incantations of the Shurpu-series, a large number of ethical commandments that may be compared with the Decalogue of Exodus xx. The famous Laws of Hammurabi were the will of the Babylonian god of justice, Shamash. It was his will " that the strong might not oppose the weak, and that they should give justice to the orphan and the widow. . . . By the command of Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth, righteousness must shine forth on the land." The 125th chapter of the Egyptian " Book of the Dead " shows that righteousness and justice were demanded in the same way by the Egyptian gods ; and every book on so-called " primitive religion " shows that the conception of a god as an ethical being is not confined to the religions of the people of old civilization. Every religion has its ethical side, even among the savages. The theory that the ceremonial cultus is anterior to the worshipping

of the gods by obeying their ethical commandments is mere assumption.

If natural religion has been depreciated by Old Testament scholars, the religion of the prophets has very often been over-estimated by them. It is perfectly true that the prophets emphasize the ethical side of the will of Jahve, but they were not the heralds of a perfectly spiritual religion. They did not preach things new and unheard of. Everybody admitted that righteousness was the will of Jahve. On the other hand, the prophets did not regard the cultus in itself as superfluous and without significance. Otherwise Hosea would not have told his nation that it would be punished by the absence of sacrifices, pillars, ephod and teraphim (Hos. iii. 4), nor would he have referred to the written laws of Jahve (Hos. viii. 12), which Jahve wrote in ten thousand precepts, and which must have contained also ceremonial duties, nor would the temple of Jerusalem have been the centre of the kingdom to come (Micah iv. 1 seq. ; Isaiah iv. 1 sqq.).

The ceremonial laws of the Priestly code are supposed to be of post-exilic origin ; the contents of older laws, of the Book of the Covenant and of Deuteronomy, however, is chiefly of a social and ethical character. How is this to be accounted for if the ceremonial laws are to be the older ones and the ethical precepts the younger ones ? Is not the Book of the Covenant that is assigned to the ninth century full of ethical commandments ? But it contains at the same time ceremonial laws (Exod. xxiii. 10–19).

The ethical Decalogue of Exodus xx. also contains some ceremonial commandments: "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy"; and "Thou shalt have none other gods before me . . . thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God," imply a certain ceremonial worship of Jahve.

These remarks do not aim at denying that the prophets of Jahve were great personalities; my only design is to point out that it is not justifiable to claim the ethical conception of Jahve for the prophets only. The ethical feeling of the priests was by no means inferior to that of the prophets. Otherwise the ethical contents of the laws (Exod. xxi.–xxiii.) is a mystery that cannot be explained.

A comparison between the Decalogue of Exodus xx. and the teaching of the prophets shows further that it is highly improbable that the Decalogue depends upon the religious conceptions of the prophets of the eighth century, as is supposed by Kuenen and others (as, for instance, W. Addis, *Hebr. Religion*, p. 181 sqq.). They assign the Decalogue to the reign of Manasseh. Addis restores the text of the Decalogue that originated in this time as follows: "1. Thou shalt have no other gods but one. 2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image. 3. Thou shalt not take the name of Jahve thy God for a vain end. 4. Remember the Sabbath day to hallow it. 5. Honour thy father and thy mother. 6. Thou shalt not kill. 7. Thou shalt not commit adultery. 8. Thou shalt not steal. 9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. 10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house. Even in this reduced form the Decalogue must be the result of the prophetic teaching. By a refinement of thought which must have been slowly evolved it forbids the covetous thought as well as the unjust deed."

Now the conspicuous trait of the preaching of the prophets is that the poor must be protected against the extortions of the wealthy. The Lord will punish the Israelites because they have sold the righteous for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes (Amos ii. 6, 7; iv. 1; v. 7, 11–17; viii. 4–6). Relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow (Isaiah i. 17; ii. 12; iii. 12–15; v. 8, etc.; cf. also

Hosea v. 1, 10; vii. 16; Micah ii. 1–4, iii.). Nearly every page of their prophecies contains a complaint against the mighty and wealthy people. How is it that there is not the slightest allusion to this part of their preaching, if we have to assume that even the reduced form of the Decalogue must be the result of the prophetic teaching? If the ethical precepts of the Decalogue had originated among the prophets a commandment to have mercy upon the poor and needy necessarily would have been classed among the commandments of the Lord.

Further, scholars overrated the meaning of some of the commandments. In consequence of this it seemed impossible to assign the Decalogue to the oldest period of the history of Israel. Addis translates the first commandment, "Thou shalt have no other god but one." He finds here monotheism, otherwise he would not have explained the expression of the Hebrew text על פני, before me, by "but one." Now it is evident that monotheism did not exist in the period of the Judges and the early Kings. It is supposed to be an achievement of the religious thought of the prophets of the eighth century.[1] The Decalogue, therefore, must be posterior to them. Both theses, however, are false. Neither the prophets of the eighth century were absolute monotheists, nor does the first commandment imply the worship of Jahve only. The oldest text teaching absolute monotheism is Deuteronomy iv. 35. But Amos ascribes the devastation of Sodom and Gomorrah to "the gods" (Elohim) and not to Jahve, as is shown by the right interpretation of Amos iv. 11, "I have overthrown you as the gods (Elohim) overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah" (cf. also Hosea xii. 4; Micah iii. 7). To the prophets Jahve, the God of Israel,[2] is the most exalted of all the gods, but they

[1] W. E. Addis in *Enc. Bibl.* 1051.

[2] Hosea always uses the name Jahve for the God of Israel, but in refer-

believe in the existence of other gods. This is not what may be called " ethical monotheism."

Besides this it is to be remarked that the meaning of " Thou shalt have none other gods before me " is generally misunderstood. What is the bearing of " before me " ? I do not think that this means " Thou shalt have no other gods at all." This could not be expressed by על פני, before me, in my presence. In this case " before me " would be entirely superfluous and confusing. Exodus xx. 23 shows that these words are not accidental. There it is forbidden to make gods of silver or gold " with " Jahve (Ye shall not make gods of silver or gods of gold *with me*). אתי, with me, does certainly not mean thou shalt not make them at all. We know that the teraphim were images. Nevertheless David and Hosea did not know anything about their being forbidden by the law of Jahve. The meaning of the commandment is just what it says. It is not allowed to place the images of other gods in the temple or holy tent of Jahve, and it is not allowed to worship other gods in His presence. It does not follow from this commandment that the possession of household gods, protecting the house and the stables, is forbidden. In Egypt and Assyria the images of several gods were placed in the same temple. Other gods are standing " before " and " with " the chief god of the temple. It is not allowed to do so in Israel. Jahve is the solitary God, no goddess is placed beside Him, no divine son is ever mentioned, as in Egypt or Assyria. He is the exalted one in whose shrine there is no place for any other god but for Himself. From this conception of Jahve evolved practical, and afterwards also theoretical, monotheism.

ring to the wrestling of Jacob with God at Beth-El he uses Elohim. Wherefore would he use xii. 3 and xii. 6 Jahve and xii. 4 Elohim if Jahve was the god he referred to ? It is to be remembered that Hosea xii. 4 does not refer to Genesis xxxii. (where Elohim also is used), for Hosea states that Jacob struggled with Elohim at Beth-El and not at Penuel.

We easily understand how this simple meaning of the Hebrew text could be overlooked. For this interpretation seems to be inconsistent with Exodus xx. 4, "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor the likeness of any form that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth." Here it is forbidden to make any image at all and the existence of household gods is made impossible by this commandment. Here we are on the ground of absolute monotheism. But this verse does not belong to the original form of the Decalogue. It separates *v.* 5 from *v.* 3. "Thou shalt not bow thyself *unto them* nor serve them" (plur.) refers to the "other gods" of *v.* 3, and cannot possibly be connected with the graven image (sing.) of *v.* 4.

This verse, therefore, must be a later addition to the text, dating from the time of Deuteronomy (sixth century B.C.). The law of Deuteronomy introduced monotheism into Israel. It abolished the household gods and put the mezuzah in their place. It opposed even the worshipping of Jahve at the various local sanctuaries and abhorred every image (Deut. iv. 16–18; vii. 25).

The tenth commandment is interpreted as forbidding the covetous thought as well as the unjust deed. It is called the result of a refinement of thought which must have been slowly evolved. I think this interpretation entirely mistaken. We cannot understand this word without transplanting ourselves to the sphere of oriental thought. If we find a thing, we know that we are not entitled to keep it. If we see an empty house, we also know that we are not allowed to take possession of it. The conviction of the oriental man, however, entitles him to keep what he finds, supposing he likes it; and if he sees abandoned goods which he thinks desirable, there is for him not the least objection to taking them. Everybody who knows the customs of

primitive life will admit that the theoretical difference between property and possession is an achievement of social civilization. It is probable that the original form of the tenth commandment was "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house." To the Israelites this meant that he should not take anything of his neighbour's possessions that were momentarily unprotected by their owner. Exodus xxxiv. 23 seq. shows that this is the right interpretation of לא תחמד, thou shalt not desire. "Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the God of Israel. For I will cast out nations before thee and enlarge thy borders: *neither shall any man desire* (חמד) thy land, when thou goest up to appear before the Lord thy God three times in the year." Evidently desire here does not only mean to have a covetous thought, but also to take possession of the unprotected houses and fields. The significance of the tenth commandment is, according to this interpretation, that it regards a category of acts that is not covered by the eighth commandment, "Thou shalt not steal." To steal means to rob things that are in the possession of another; to desire means to take things that seem desirable, in case of finding them or seeing them without the protection of the owner or of one of his people. If this is the right exegesis of the tenth commandment, we must assume concerning this precept what Addis rightly accepts about "some of the precepts—e.g. the prohibition of murder, theft and adultery. They must have descended from a prehistoric antiquity."

Sometimes the beginning of the Decalogue is interpreted as an introduction. Jahve is supposed to introduce Himself to his hearers: I am Jahve thy God. This introduction, however, is altogether superfluous, as the Israelites were fully aware that they were encamped in the neighbourhood of the mountain of Jahve. This word really is the first

commandment. It is not to be translated as "I am Jahve thy God," but as "I, Jahve, am thy God," i.e., I, Jahve, am the God you have to serve and to worship. Jahve proclaims Himself to be the national God of Israel. This is the only interpretation which derives a proper sense from these words and their context. If there is to be any historical truth in the narrative about the encamping of the Israelitic tribes near Mount Sinai, it is this, that the various Israelitic clans and Hebrew families were united into a religious alliance that was patronized by Jahve, the God by whose aid they were able to make themselves free from the Egyptian oppression. It is reasonable that one of the first things the allies have to remember is that Jahve, their Saviour, is to be their national God.

It is accepted by many scholars that the precept "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy," must be of recent origin. The problem of the origin of the Sabbath is not yet solved. As far as we can trace the day in Israel it was a day of rest. Therefore it was supposed that the commandment must be posterior to the settlement of Israel in Canaan. In the nomad state of life a Sabbath day would have been impossible. The shepherds have no opportunity for resting on certain days. If we are right in denying that the Israelites were nomads before entering into Egypt, there evidently is no reason why the precept to remember the Sabbath should not be a commandment of the Mosaic period.

Thus none of the commandments is inconsistent with the historical circumstances and the state of life of the Hebrews on their way from Egypt to Palestine.

Thus far we have only dealt with the general contents of the Decalogue and have not entered into a discussion on the original form of this document.

I hold, with Professor Driver (p. 33) that the form of the

Decalogue of Exodus as a whole is older than the recension of Deuteronomy. He is quite right in stating, "The principal variations in the recension of Deuteronomy are in agreement with the style of Deuteronomy, and the author's hand is recognizable in them." Nevertheless some influence of the text of Deuteronomy upon the recension of Exodus cannot be denied.

Exodus xx. 5 says: "I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the grandchildren and the great-grandchildren, to my haters (לשנאי), and shewing mercy unto thousands, to them that love me (לאהבי)." The usual translation of these words hides the fact that the words "to my haters" and "to my lovers" contain some difficulty. The common translation is "of my haters" and "of them that love me." This could be the right translation of the first part, but it is not allowed to translate לאלפים לאהבי by "to thousands of my lovers." Of course the meaning of the verse must be that God shows His mercy unto *everybody* that loves Him and not unto a great many of those who love Him. It is very remarkable that the words "to my haters" and "to my lovers" are not found in the various parallels to our verses, Exodus xxxiv. 7, Numbers xiv. 18, Jeremiah xxxii. 18. This can hardly be a mere accident. Exodus xx. 5, 6 we get a better Hebrew text if we omit the words. We easily see why they were introduced into the text. The teaching of the Decalogue that God punished the children for the sins of the fathers was inconsistent with the doctrine of Deuteronomy. "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin" (Deut. xxiv. 16; cf. also vii. 10, "God will not be slack to him that hateth him; he will repay him to his face"). Evidently the words "to my haters" and "to them that love me and

keep my commandments" are introduced by the writer of Deuteronomy in order to express that God punishes the children if they hate Him. If this is right, we see at once that the recension of Deuteronomy has been of influence upon the text of Exodus.

Probably the text of Exodus originally did not contain the reference to Genesis ii. 3. There seems to be no reasonable ground for the thesis that the writer of Deuteronomy will have omitted Exodus xx. 11. As far as we can see he cannot have had any objection to the theory that Jahve created the world in six days and that the Sabbath was a holy institution from the beginning.

The difference between the recension of the tenth commandment seems to me to be of no significance. Perhaps Exodus xx. 17*b* is an explanation of what is to be understood by "house" in verse 17*a*.

So the original form of the Decalogue of Exodus may have been xx. 2, 3, 5 (except "to my haters"), 6*a*; vii. 8, 9, 10, 12–17.

Now we must face the question, Which was the original place of this Decalogue in the tradition of Exodus?

B. D. Eerdmans.

STUDIES IN THE PAULINE THEOLOGY.

VII. The End of the Law.

(1) This Christian salvation, the deliverance of man from both the guilt and the power of sin in Christ Jesus, Paul offered to Jew and Gentile alike, for the necessity for it was as universal as the sufficiency of it. The right to make this offer to the Gentiles without any other condition than its acceptance in faith was, however, quickly challenged. When Paul and his companions returned from their first missionary journey to Antioch, "they rehearsed all things

that God had done with them, and how that He had opened a door of faith unto the Gentiles" (Acts xiv. 27); but very soon after "certain men came down from Judæa and taught the brethren, saying, Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved" (xv. 1). The issue thus raised was this: was submission to the Jewish law a necessary condition of acceptance of the Christian salvation? Must a man be circumcised in order to be forgiven and made holy in Christ? The assembly of the Church in Jerusalem decided in favour of Gentile freedom with certain restrictions (verse 20) intended to make easier social intercourse between Gentile and Jewish believers. Regarding the limitations of freedom in regard to food Paul asserts in principle absolute liberty, but in practice recommends renunciation of liberty in the interests of charity (Rom. xiv., 1 Cor. viii.). The propaganda of the view condemned in Jerusalem among the Pauline Churches compelled Paul to take up the question of the relation of the Law to the Gospel.

(2) In expounding and estimating his treatment of this subject it seems necessary to keep three facts in view. First of all, Paul was not engaged in an academic discussion regarding the moral and religious function of the law in the history of the Jewish people, or even the significance of law generally in man's moral development, but he was contending against a present, serious danger to the Churches which by the Gospel had been won from paganism. The victory of the Judaizers would have been the reduction of Christianity from a world-wide religion to a sect within Judaism. In the circumstances we need not be surprised if his judgment is not altogether so impartial as the modern scholar would desire.

Secondly, Paul was a Pharisee before his conversion, and so the law had weighed upon his own life as the heavy

burden which Pharisaic interpretations and applications of it made it. It had been not a help, but a hindrance to his recognition and acceptance of Jesus as Messiah. As long as he was under its authority he had felt himself condemned; it was apart from the law that he himself had found salvation. Here the personal equation must not be overlooked.

Lastly, the passage in Galatians iii. 10, seems to indicate that it was the curse the law pronounced on the mode of death which Christ endured which for a time stood in the way of Paul's recognition of the Messiah, confirmed his unbelief and stimulated his persecuting zeal. If the words do not mean exactly that the law condemned itself in condemning Christ, yet the distinctive character of the law as inflicting on mankind a curse only is writ large in its sentence on Christ. Christ's Cross made Paul feel a repulsion to the Law.

(3) What Paul had primarily in view when he was dealing with the relation of the Law to the Gospel was the Mosaic Law. Thus when he describes the Gentiles as those who have no law (Rom. ii. 14), he is thinking only of the Jewish law. The reference in v. 13, "sin is not imputed when there is no law," might appear more general, were not Moses expressly mentioned in the next verse. When he speaks of the operation of the law in his own experience, he is referring to the Jewish law in its Pharisaic interpretation (vii. 7). He did, however, recognize a moral law beyond the Mosaic. The Gentiles who have not the Mosaic law are a law unto themselves, in that their conscience excuses or accuses them (ii. 15). Christ is the end of the law not in the specific sense only, but also in the general. The rite of circumcision was what the Judaizers were most concerned about; and it was from the ceremonial law of Judaism, including the precepts regarding

clean and unclean, that it was Paul's main purpose to assert the freedom of the Gentiles. In discussing the question of the obligation of the law on the Christian it is clearly the moral law that is prominent in Paul's mind; for his problem is a moral problem, how can man be forgiven and made holy? We should, however, be introducing our modern points of view in emphasizing the distinction between the ceremonial and the moral law; for Paul there was but one law. We must, however, note carefully that it is not the abolition of rites and ceremonies only or mainly Paul has in view, but that from his Christian standpoint morality as law has yielded to something higher.

(4) Although his argument to disprove the claim of the law on the Christian requires him to demonstrate its moral ineffectiveness, its inevitable result in the condemnation of men and its subordinate function in the divine purpose, yet he remains sufficiently the Jew to regard it as of divine origin and authority, and consequently as deserving honour. The law is "holy, just, and good," and "spiritual" (Rom. vii. 12, 14). With indignation he repudiates the suggestion that his view of the relation to sin of the law is intended to place it on the same moral level. "Is the law sin? God forbid!" (verse 7). He is careful to explain that he is so far from making the law of none effect through faith, that he establishes the law (iii. 31). Compare with this Jesus' saying, "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil." There is no opposition between the law and the promises of God (Gal. iii. 21). It is doubtful whether Paul regards it as a proof of the dignity and authority of the law that "it was ordained through angels by the hand of a mediator," for the next verse suggests that there is a more direct and unconditioned action of God possible. "Now a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one" (verses

19 and 20), and this he sees in the promise to Abraham, fulfilled in Christ. It is certain that with all his honour and praise of the law he does not recognize fully the function it served in the moral development of the nation, nor has he the delight in it the saints of old had (Ps. cxix. 97).

(5) The law is inferior to the promise of God; it comes in between the promise and the fulfilment "because of transgressions" (either to restrain or to provoke, probably the latter), so that all things may be shut up under sin when the promise is fulfilled (Gal. iii. 19–22). "The law came in beside" (παρεισῆλθεν, Rom. v. 20), as an "after-thought," or "parenthesis." The term seems to be chosen thus to emphasize the temporary and subordinate character of the law, although other interpretations have been suggested. Meyer and Weiss give the prosaic explanation, "It entered alongside of sin," but this seems to contradict Paul's express statement that there was an interval of time between the entrance of sin into the world and the introduction of the law (verse 13). When Pfleiderer expands the meaning of the words thus, "It entered between sin and redemption, as a means to the end of the latter," he certainly does not import a meaning foreign to the context, for Paul did regard the law as so provoking transgression that by it the sin did abound which was the occasion of the more exceedingly abounding grace, but he does not give its full force to the word παρεισῆλθεν. A comment of Chrysostom is quoted in Sanday and Headlam's *Romans* (p. 143), which brings this out: "Why did he not say the Law *was given*, but the Law *entered by the way?* It was to show that the need of it was temporary, and not absolute or claiming precedence." The law is of God; but it is not God's highest abiding revelation of Himself.

(6) The law given by Moses is inferior to the promise

made to Abraham, and Abraham obtains the promise not as a reward of any legal righteousness, but because faith is reckoned to him for righteousness. "The works of the law" and "the hearing of faith" are opposed to one another; and Abraham is cited as an instance of the latter; "Even as Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness." To him was the Gospel preached beforehand (Gal. iii. 5–8). The promises made to him could not be disannulled by "the law which came four hundred and thirty years after" (verse 17). Abraham was not justified by his works, but by his faith; and the promise came to him not by the law, but even while he "was still in uncircumcision" (Rom. iv.). However Rabbinic the argument in its details may now appear to us, the essential idea may be detached from the antiquated forms of speech in which it is presented to us, and it is simply this. The legal relation between God and man, God as the lawgiver and judge, and man as incurring penalty by disobedience, or securing reward by his merit, is not the ultimate and permanent one. As it does not meet the needs of man, so it does not fulfil the will of God. Man is by his nature dependent on God, and cannot live his best life without God. God is by His nature gracious to man, and cannot withhold from man the help which he ever needs. The legal relation may be more prominent in certain stages of human development; but it must give place to a relation more satisfying to God and to man.

(7) Such a relation has been revealed in the Cross of Jesus Christ. The problem for the Christian Church in Paul's age was not the abandonment of the legal relation for a lower; but the attempt to perpetuate that legal relation when another was possible. For Paul there was, as for the Judaizers there was not, an essential and,

therefore, inevitable opposition between the Law and the Gospel. They were rivals, and could not be companions. If in the Cross man is saved both from the power and the guilt of sin, he needs nothing else or more; and to claim that he does, as the Judaizers did, is to deny the sufficiency of the Cross. The Cross was vainly endured if it cannot efficiently save without the observance of the law. "If righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for nought" (Gal. ii. 21). If men look to the law to save them, they disown the salvation the Cross offers. "Ye are severed from Christ, ye who would be justified by the law; ye are fallen away from grace" (v. 4). It is because in Paul's experience the Cross has proved to him absolutely the power and wisdom of God unto salvation that he cannot tolerate any other relation between God and man than that of grace on God's part and faith on man's as constituted by the Cross. Christ is sufficient for holiness as for forgiveness; and the desire to add any prop or bond of the moral life is the denial of that sufficiency. Can we suppose that Law with its rewards and punishments can serve either as substitute for, or supplement to the Gospel which offers the grace of God to men's faith?

(8) Paul's experience had made him certain that the Gospel could do what the law could not; for he had known both the impotence of the latter and the efficacy of the former. An important link in his chain of argument is the proof of the purpose of the law. So far is it from restraining sin that it rather provokes it. (i.) In the first place it is the law that awakens the consciousness of sin. "Through the law cometh the knowledge of sin" (Rom. iii. 20). A man becomes aware that his impulses, appetites or actions are wrong when he gets to know the law which forbids and condemns them. Paul had probably in a very acute moral crisis become aware of this opposition

between desire and duty. "I had not known sin, except through the law; for I had not known lust (R.V. margin) except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust" (vii. 7). Whatever the natural desire may have been, it was not known as sin until its condemnation was found in the law.

(ii.) In the next place the knowledge that a wish or a deed is thus condemned instead of restraining from indulgence or commission, rather provokes thereto. "But sin, finding occasion, wrought in me through the commandment all manner of lusting; for apart from the law sin is dead" (verse 8). "When the commandment came, sin revived" (verse 9). The commandment itself is like a challenge, which sin at once accepts. The sin, which unrestrained had been inactive, is aroused to violent disobedience. The appetites become more clamorous when their gratification is forbidden; the passions more vehement, when a restraint is put upon them. That this is assuredly not the purpose of the law, Paul recognizes in this passage: "The commandment was unto life," for it is "holy, righteous, and good." But nevertheless it is, he holds, the result. Elsewhere Paul speaks as if the law were given for this very end. "The law came in beside, that the trespass might abound" (v. 20). The law "was added because of transgressions" (Gal. iii. 19). Although the phrase is vague, yet probably the meaning is not to check, but to provoke transgressions. We have in explanation of this inconsistency to remind ourselves that a Jew would regard such a result as not accidental, but as intended by God. But Paul himself expressly indicates this intention. The character of sin could not be fully revealed, and its condemnation be completely expressed, until it had realized the utmost possibility, until it had reached the last stage of its development. That the law which was intended to restrain should result

in provoking sin put beyond doubt or question the essential and permanent antagonism of the law and sin. "Sin that it might be shown to be sin, by working death to me through that which is good; that through the commandment sin might become exceeding sinful" (Rom. v. 13). Why should it be necessary that "sin might become exceeding sinful"? Paul has an answer to this question also. Man must become conscious to the uttermost of his moral depravity and impotence in order that he might fully discover his need of the divine grace: and the law in thus both condemning and provoking sin was a preparation for the gospel. Sin was made by the law to abound in order that grace might abound more exceedingly. The moral issue between human sin and divine law had to be fully worked out before God's solution of the problem could be desired or welcomed. "God hath shut up all unto disobedience that He might have mercy upon all" (Rom. xi. 32).

(iii.) Lastly, that the law provokes the transgression is due to the nature of sin, but that it fails to restrain it has a reason in the nature of the law itself. It is an outward precept, and not an inward power. It is written on tables of stone, and not on tables that are hearts of flesh (2 Cor. iii. 3); it is not spirit, but letter (verse 6). It can condemn the transgression, but cannot secure obedience; it is thus the letter that killeth, and not the spirit that giveth life. Its inefficacy through its externality is shown in the moral and religious condition of the Jews, who made of it their boast. "Thou who gloriest in the law, through thy transgression of the law dishonourest thou God?" (Rom. ii. 23). A man might profess his allegiance to the law, and yet withhold his obedience. "He is not a Jew, which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew, which is one inwardly; and circumcision

is that of the heart, in the spirit not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God" (verses 28 and 29). In the flesh, the law had an antagonist with which it was unequally matched. It could not bring into the field of choice motives as potent as the flesh could; and only the grace of God in Christ could be a match for the flesh. "What the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh; that the ordinance of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit" (viii. 3–4).

(9) In this proof of the purpose of the law it must be frankly admitted there is a great deal that is foreign to our modes of thought. Paul was arguing against Judaizers, and he had to use the terms and modes of proof that they could understand. Without entering into any justification of the details of the argument, we must face the question whether there is any corresponding reality in our moral experience to that which is here depicted. As regards the first point, it is when the conscience, which reproduces the moral judgments of the human environment, awakens in the child that some of his actions and desires are first of all recognized by him as wrong; in this sense by the law is the knowledge of sin. In respect of the second point, that the law provokes, and does not prevent, sin, are we not reminded of the proverb "Stolen fruit is sweet"? Even in the child restraint does stir up opposition. There is in man a self-will, a self-seeking, and a self-sparing that resists control, limitation, and obligation. Conscience may be met with defiance. That law always provokes, and never restrains sin would be an unwarranted generalization; but that mere prohibition, unless accompanied by an adequate motive to obedience, does irritate and excite, cannot be doubted. More difficult is it to follow Paul when he

maintains a divine purpose in allowing sin to run its full course as a condition of man's welcome of God's grace. In the next Study on the purpose of God, Paul's interpretation of the ways of God will be more fully discussed. Meanwhile we have but to try and answer the question, whether there is any advantage in the realization of the possibility of sin in its completeness. Is it good that sin might become exceeding sinful? It is a fact that the higher moral life does not begin in some men until they have passed through a moral crisis in which the opposition of desire and duty was most acutely experienced, until they realized how much there was in themselves at war with their higher aims. Nay, even a fall into some sin which conscience condemns has made a man at once aware, as he had not been before, how empty of moral worth his whole life has been. Gross sins are not necessary conditions of moral development; but an intense experience of the inward opposition seems to be. Concerning the third point, the absence in the law of constraining motive, and its consequent impotence, we must admit that Paul's view is abstract. Law as law is no match for passion; but as a rule law does not come alone. God's goodness to Israel enforced the claim of the law on the Jew; the family affections reinforce the commands of the home. Fear of its penalties, and hope for its rewards do give the law some influence. Paul is arguing *in vacuo*.

(10) But if the law has failed to make men righteous, if its result has been to provoke and multiply transgressions, yet it has remained as a witness against sin, although not a victor over it. It has made it impossible for the man who knows the law to be at ease in his sin. It has secured the reverence of the better elements in man. It has driven to self-despair. It has made the soul in its helplessness and misery eager for, and ready to welcome

the deliverance which comes in the Gospel. Paul's description of his own inner life in Romans vii. 7–25 justifies his confession, "For I through the law died unto the law, that I might live unto God" (Gal. ii. 19). Without the moral discipline of the law Paul would not have discovered as he did either the law's insufficiency or the Gospel's efficacy. He had not been a Pharisee altogether in vain. His more intense moral experience gave him a more penetrating moral insight, which has enabled him to give an interpretation of the Gospel which has appealed most convincingly not to men of moral commonplace, but of moral genius. His own experience Paul confidently generalizes. Addressing the Galatians, he declares, "The law hath been our tutor to bring us unto Christ" (iii. 24). But here a doubt arises, Had the Galatians passed through such an experience as Paul's? Had they worked out the moral problem as he had? If not, were they able to understand aright what freedom from the law meant? One cannot but ask whether the legal discipline may not be necessary as a preparation for the evangelical freedom; and whether the faith in Christ which has behind it no moral experience is yet fit for the freedom which implies moral maturity.

(11) Be that as it may, Paul was sure that in Christ he had died unto the law; the relation to God which that stood for he had once for all left behind, because he had entered on a relation to God entirely different. He was now a son; he had put on Christ, because he had been baptized into Christ (Gal. iii. 26, 27), and that means that he had been crucified and had risen again in Christ (ii. 20). He requires all Christians to pass through the same change. "Wherefore, my brethren, ye also were made dead to the law through the body of Christ, that ye should be joined to another, even to him who was raised from the dead,

that we might bring forth fruit unto God" (Rom. vii. 4). To be dead to the law might mean moral licence, did it not in the Christian result from death to sin and life unto God. He is free from the restraints of the law, and from its commands only because he has renounced sin and consecrated himself to God. In his freedom he is "under law to Christ" (ἔννομος Χριστῷ, 1 Cor. ix. 21); "Christ is the end of the law (τέλος νόμου) unto righteousness to every one that believeth" (Rom. x. 4). "We are not under law, but under grace" (vi. 15). Grace delivers from the power as well as the guilt of sin, and therefore the man under grace is free, not to sin, but from sin. It is necessary to insist on all these qualifications as Paul's doctrine can be so easily misunderstood, as it has been in antinomianism; it may even be misrepresented as a plea for libertinism. The claim for freedom is made only for those who are dead unto sin, and live only unto God.

(12) We must again test the truth, and prove the worth of this teaching. It will be generally conceded that Paul was absolutely right in claiming the freedom of the Gentiles from the Jewish law as a national code, ritual, polity. Circumcision and the complex system of ceremonial purity could not be imposed on the Gentiles. "Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon, or a sabbath day" (Col. ii. 16). Who now would challenge such a claim? But the Jewish law enshrined moral principles and precepts of permanent and universal value, the expression of a severe moral discipline, and long moral development. Did Paul mean to reject these, or to refuse the Gentiles the moral guidance and guardianship which these might offer? Surely not. "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely,

whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things" (Phil. iv. 8). Even if he was thinking of Gentile standards and customs what he says of them he doubtless would have applied to the treasures his Holy Scriptures contained. His own letters abound in counsels, commands, exhortations, and prohibitions. He discusses moral problems in detail, and offers his own solution with confidence that he is interpreting the mind of God. By Christian freedom he does not mean that each man is thrown back on his own conscience, and that he must exercise his moral judgment in isolation. As Paul's teaching might in this respect be misunderstood, it must be insisted that there is a moral inheritance and a moral environment by the aid of which alone the moral individuality can be developed. While the morally immature are not to be subjected to a bondage of commands merely, they must be kept under a guidance of moral counsels. The spirit of Jesus in the individual conscience is not independent of, or opposed to the spirit in the Christian community. The insight of to-day is not separated from the garnered wisdom of the ages. Necessary as was Paul's claim for freedom from the law, we must not misapply it, as has sometimes been done, into a justification of an individualistic mysticism which substitutes its own impulses for the ideals and standards of the Christian society. That the individual conscience may and must challenge the judgment even of a Christian society is to be fully admitted. This is the condition of progress. But the conscience which makes this claim must be instructed, sympathetic, responsible. What one does miss in Paul's discussion is a recognition of the different stages of moral development, and the varying degrees of spiritual maturity. It is an ideal rather than an actuality he describes. He regards

his own experience as more generally typical than it is. If a man has died to sin, and if he is alive unto God, if he is crucified and risen with Christ, he is dead unto law; he can live in the freedom of the Spirit. But if he is but slowly rising from the lower to the higher life, he still needs constraints and restraints, counsel and command, guidance and guardianship of more advanced Christians, or of the Christian society. As long as he is a child morally and religiously he must be under guardians and stewards. While we must respect the individual conscience, while we must recognize the presence and operation of the enlightening and quickening Spirit of God, while we must gratefully acknowledge that even the simple soul that is in communion with Jesus Christ is endowed with a moral insight which often puts to shame the wisdom of the learned, yet there seems to be an urgent necessity that the Christian society should give its members moral guidance and guardianship. Casuistry, or the attempt to regulate the moral life of each Christian by a recognized rule in every case, instead of encouraging the exercise of an instructed individual conscience, must be avoided as a moral plague. But the application of the Christian moral ideal to the complex moral requirements of society to-day is a task which requires a wider knowledge and a keener insight than most individual Christians possess; and it, therefore, belongs to the Christian society as such, to be discharged on behalf of all by such of the members as have the special competence. To freely use the help thus offered is not for the Christian a return to the bondage of the letter, but is an exercise of the freedom of the spirit, which will secure the common good. Paul's practice in his moral instruction of his converts supplied the necessary qualification of his abstract discussion of the relation of law to Christian life; and thus in urging these considerations

we are not departing from him, or opposing ourselves to him, but only guarding his truth against errors that have sought shelter under the cover of his great name.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

EZEKIEL, CHAPTER IV.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PATHOLOGICAL PROBLEM.

THE fourth chapter of Ezekiel has always been a puzzle to Bible students. The things signified are, of course, obvious enough. The city was to endure the horror of a long and trying siege, including a famine in which food would become very scarce, and much of it of a poor and even horrible description. The capture of the city was to be followed by a forty years' exile in a country of idolaters. The only difficulty that here arises concerns the 390 years which seem assigned without any known reason to Israel's exile. But this difficulty practically disappears if we read with LXX. 190 in *v.* 5, and understand the 150 of the LXX. in *v.* 4 to refer in round numbers to the part of the Israelitish exile which was already past, excluding the forty years still predicted for both kingdoms. In this case we must understand Ezekiel as meaning that the exile of both kingdoms would end simultaneously when that of Israel had lasted 190, and that of Judah 40 years (cf. what is said of the two kingdoms in xxxvii. 15–22). The further question concerning the fulfilment of the prophecy does not now concern us.

But though the interpretation of the prophecy thus presents no serious difficulty, what is to be said about the means employed by Ezekiel to represent these predictions? What in fact did Ezekiel really do or not do? To take the passage throughout as a detailed description of an acted parable involves great difficulties. To begin with the

context of the passage (cf. iii. 24, 25 with iv. 8) seems to suggest that Ezekiel was at the time confined to his house, and under the influence of some natural or supernatural constraint which rendered speech and, to a considerable extent, movement impossible (iv. 8). In such circumstances the symbolical parable would be, of course, one of dumb show. This is conceivable and indeed in itself by no means improbable. But who was there to witness such an acted parable? Occasional visitors there may have been; but it seems suggested that this was part of Ezekiel's definite and public ministration (see iv. 12). In other cases where a message is intended for a particular set of people they are distinctly specified (see viii. 1; xiv. 1; xx. 1). That the prophet in this peculiar state, whatever may have been the cause, should have made himself an object of exhibition seems, moreover, even when we take full account of its religious purpose, contrary to the spirit of the injunction in iii. 24–26.

Then, again, there are difficulties concerning the preparation of the food. How, it has been said, could Ezekiel have prepared the food while lying on his side? Is it to be supposed that he prepared all the food necessary before the beginning of the 190 days, and that it lasted at least 150, till he changed his position to the right side? or again, that he prepared the food at night, and lay on his side only in the day time, or such time in each day as for this purpose he was, if we may so say, on view? The last suggestion is plausible, but it is a considerable departure from a purely literal interpretation.

But even so another difficulty arises of quite a different kind. The meaning of this acted parable, so far as the predicted length of the exile is concerned, would not and could not appear until the end of the period when the number of days had been completed, and even then those who

witnessed it could hardly have realized its significance until their attention had been called to it by the prophet. The mere action alone then would not have been sufficient.

Various methods have been proposed of explaining or explaining away these difficulties. The simplest of them is to say that we are merely told that Ezekiel was commanded by Jahwe to act in this way, that is, conceived the idea as the result of a Divine impulse or suggestion; but we are not told that he even attempted to carry it out: and we may naturally suppose, therefore, that all that he did was to make the narration of what was then suggested do duty as a sort of parable, thus substituting verbal for dramatic illustration. It is going but a step further to suggest that the whole was from the first framed by Ezekiel as a parable pure and simple, that his saying that he was commanded by Jahwe to act in this way was merely a conventional way of saying that his teaching was in a broad sense the outcome of Divine inspiration.

It might be said, with reference to both these methods of interpretation, that apart from all other difficulties the introduction of such a realistic detail as that mentioned in *v.* 15 is quite inexplicable. Indeed regarded as a parable iv. 3 ff. is weak and jejune in the extreme.

A more plausible explanation is that the whole chapter describes part of a divine ecstasy which begins with iii. 22. Up to a certain point this may be conceded. It seems at least implied that the object of this ecstasy was to foretell and explain from a religious point of view that form of constraint which is described as bands laid on the prophet (iii. 25, iv. 8). What cannot be admitted is that in the ecstasy Ezekiel conceived himself as receiving a Divine command to act in a certain way, and afterwards felt himself at liberty, without attempting to carry out the instructions thus communicated, to make the command itself

do duty as a parable. Such a thing is psychologically improbable, and moreover ignores the fact that symbolical action was one of the commonest methods of prophetic teaching. Besides this it is important to bear in mind that throughout the book Ezekiel's initial formula is "The word of Jahwe came unto me," or some equivalent phrase. He desired above all things to emphasize the fact that the prediction was revealed to him by God; but he obviously intends it to be implied nevertheless that what followed was what he actually taught.

Is there then any explanation of this passage which admits of its being the description of a real action on Ezekiel's part, and yet avoids the difficulties already mentioned? It will clear the ground if we first consider the symbol of the tile and mimic earth works prescribed in *vv.* 1–3. This has clearly no necessary connexion with the symbol of lying on his side, which, according to the present arrangement of the text, forms the subject of the rest of the chapter. It is very simple, almost childish, in its conception, but, except for the symbolism that follows, no one would doubt that it is intended to describe a real symbolical act. This act seems hardly likely to have taken place in Ezekiel's house, and may have occurred either before he retired to his enforced solitude, or at some later time. If the latter, the order represents not that in which the symbols were acted, but that in which they were suggested to the prophet.

Probably the true key to the difficulty will be found to lie in understanding Ezekiel's physical condition. No thoughtful reader of this remarkable book would wish, of course, to underrate the strong virility and the spiritual and moral insight of this stern and sturdy prophet. If his mind lacked subtlety, it was at any rate deep and strong. But it is not uncommon to find high mental and moral qualities combined with some serious physical defect of a nervous

order. It seems clear that there was something abnormal about Ezekiel which cannot be wholly explained as merely a peculiarity of temperament. There appear evidences of some neurotic ailment, which affected him for longer or shorter periods. This is certainly the most natural explanation of those frequently long fits of silence which must have strangely perplexed his hearers (see esp. iii. 15, 26; viii. 1–xii. 25). The patience with which these were endured is one of the clearest proofs of his influence and the respect in which he was held.

It might at this point be said that we ought rather to accept the explanation that Ezekiel himself gives when he says that bands were laid upon him by Jahwe (iv. 8; in iii. 25 the verb should probably be taken as impersonal), and that the phenomenon was some kind of supernatural constraint and had nothing to do with any physical cause. But the deduction is not a reasonable one. However natural the infirmity, if such it was, may have been, we can readily understand that the prophet would have felt that for all that it was ordained by God and for some definite purpose.

There seems, then, reason to think that these spells of silence were what is known in medical language as aphasia, and were due to some cerebral lesion or other disturbance, being in all probability a phase of paralysis. But if so, we are bound to explain Ezekiel's lying on his side in the same way. It was plainly not, as we might at first suppose, a deliberate and voluntary act, but is described as the result of "bands" which would be laid upon him by God (*v.* 8).

This phrase, both here and in iii. 25, suggests some sort of seizure over which Ezekiel had no proper control; but which he interpreted as sent by Jahwe as a symbolical means of teaching. It may reasonably, therefore, be supposed that it was what we commonly call a paralytic stroke.

It is a remarkable fact that aphasia is often associated with right-sided hemiplegia, which is implied in Ezekiel's lying on his left side. Left-sided hemiplegia is less commonly associated with aphasia, and generally only in left-handed people. This might account for the second stroke of the left side (involving lying on the right side) being of shorter duration (see *Enc. Brit.* Ed. 9, vol. ii. p. 171). If this hypothesis is correct, we must suppose that it was only at the time, or in its completeness only afterwards, that he fully realized the symbolical meaning which he attached to his physical ailment. Nor can we suppose that he was enabled to foresee the seizure itself and its accompaniments in all its details, such as the length of lying on each side. We find other examples in which a prophet speaks as though he had fully foreseen what was explained by future events. Jeremiah, e.g., only discovered that Hanamel's words were a message from Jahwe when he left him (xxxii. 8); but he speaks in *vv.* 6, 7 as though both Hanamel's coming and what he was going to say had been already definitely revealed before he came. Hosea speaks as though, when he married Gomer, her character and all that it symbolized had been revealed from the first (Hos. i. 2), but it is clear that the symbolical lesson depended very largely, if not entirely, upon her conduct after marriage. The case of Hosea is extremely interesting as forming, if the foregoing interpretation of Ezekiel's symbol is correct, a very close parallel. Hosea regards his private and domestic relations, Ezekiel his sickness as vehicles of Divine teaching.

As regards Ezekiel it is not difficult to imagine the situation. We can fancy the prophet lying restlessly on one side, at times depressed and miserable, as one stricken by God, brooding over the wrongs and iniquities of his time, until he felt as though he were himself bearing the people's sins (*vv.* 4, 5, 6); at other times with a stern frown and

wild gesture of his bare arm pouring out in dumb show the vials of Divine wrath against the city (*v.* 7). The invalid diet would become nauseous or even loathsome. The half-dreaming fancy of the brain-sick priest would even at times shrink from it in horror as the most polluted food (*vv.* 9–14). And all this again seemed to have a deeper impersonal meaning, suggesting at one time the famine diet of the beleaguered city (*vv.* 16, 17), at another the unclean and polluted food they might be expected to eat in exile (*v.* 13).

If this is the true explanation of the passage, it will be seen that there must have been a considerable degree of elaboration before the teaching which Ezekiel's illness was felt by him to symbolize was made public. In other words, what is described to us in chapter iv. is probably not only far more detailed than what was actually foretold to Ezekiel, but considerably more so than what he actually experienced. The exact number of days which he lay, or believed that he lay, on each side, the difference of interpretation in the two cases suggest calculation and reflexion, though we may fairly assume that the first was based in a general way upon the proportion between the two periods. On the other hand, such a detail as that of *v.* 15, so pointless, it would seem, from the symbolical point of view, is just the sort of thing which might be experienced in a dream.

Cornill points out that the first symbol entirely (*vv.* 1–3), and a large part of what now belongs to the second symbol, has reference to the siege, the rest of the chapter to the exile. He would, therefore, with an admirable sense of logic, rearrange the chapter so as to put together consecutively in separate divisions what belongs to these two subjects thus: (i) 4–6, 8–9, 12–15, (ii) 1–3, 10–11, 16–17. We may naturally, however, suppose that Ezekiel's object was not to write two well-arranged but remarkably dull allegories, but rather to give in the order in which they

actually occurred some curious and painful experiences, which he felt to be full of meaning for his people. The chapter ceases to have any living interest unless this experience was real.

The interpretation here given may not be felt to meet all difficulties, but there seems good reason to think that the final solution of the problem will be at least on the general lines here indicated. F. H. Woods.

THE SINNER IN THE CITY.

In the study of the Gospels we are faced with several interesting problems as to identity. Is the young man who fled away naked St. Mark? Was St. Luke one of the two disciples whom the Lord joined on the way to Emmaus? The latter hypothesis is far more unlikely than the former. The unnamed disciple in the first chapter of St. John's Gospel can scarcely fail to be a member of the first apostolic group, but might be St. James, who originally was the more prominent of the sons of Zebedee.[1] In John xviii. 15, on the other hand, the case for the evangelist himself is stronger, and this fact may influence the verdict on the earlier passage.

That James, the brother of the Lord, is the head of the third apostolic group appears to the present writer the more likely view.[2] Neither that question, however, nor the identity of the beloved disciple with the son of Zebedee, may here detain us. But there is another problem which is of some importance for this article. It seems quite likely that the parable of the good Samaritan [3] was an answer to the question as to the great commandment in the Law.[4] It must be remembered that in the Gospels we have but the

[1] I have shown how the relative prominence altered, in a study on the Apostolic Groups (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct., 1908, p. 109).

[2] Ibid. p. 112. [3] Luke x. 25–37.

[4] Matt. xxii. 34–40; Mark xii. 28–34.

shortest abstract of discussions that must have taken some considerable time; and the parable fits very well into this context, to which indeed its own introduction largely corresponds. We can easily imagine our Lord's questioners reduced to silence after such a magnificent answer to that narrow-hearted query, "Who is my neighbour?" We can imagine, too, yet another burst of admiration on the part of the better disposed among His listeners. Moreover—and this is what is most significant for our present purpose—such indications as the parable affords point to Jerusalem, the place of departure, as the scene of its delivery, and to a period when our Lord was openly attacking priests and Levites. We thus obtain a valuable confirmation for the view that what immediately follows in St. Luke is to be referred to the same time and place, that the village is Bethany, the sisters those of Lazarus, the time the last days of Christ's life. St. Luke does not give many hints of time or place in his "great intercalation,"[1] nor does St. Matthew help us much where there is common ground, for in him we find an arrangement other than chronological. Nevertheless serious difficulties about historical sequence in the "intercalation" do not appear to arise until Luke xi.

That the sisters in the Third Gospel are those who in the Fourth play a part in the raising of Lazarus is indeed a fact which scarcely needs proof. The bold contrast in the former is fully borne out by the delicate touches of the latter. Nor need any hesitation be felt as to the supper and anointing of John xii. 1–8 being the same as that of Mark xiv. 3–9, Matthew xxvi. 6–13, whatever slight difficulty of harmony may arise. These are the three incidents which belong to Martha's sister. In Luke vii. 36–50 we

[1] In the Expositor for May, 1906, pp. 430–431, I have argued briefly against the view "that the other three Gospels leave a gap in the chronology about here, only filled by St. Luke."

are told of another anointing, by a "sinner in the city." To identify this with the one related in the other three Gospels seems certainly wrong. The only arguments which can be alleged appear to be the common name of Simon, the silence which we should otherwise have to attribute to St. Luke on the subject of the other anointing, and the fact that the anointing shocks. But on closer inspection the hypothesis breaks down at every point. In St. Luke a sinner anoints with tears and receives forgiveness; in the rest there is nothing of this. In St. Luke we are near the beginning of the ministry and in Galilee; in the rest, near the end, and in Bethany. Finally, the objections are by different persons, on different grounds, and differently answered. It is true that there is some resemblance between Luke vii. 38 and John xii. 3; but even in the very details of the anointing St. John's account is, if anything, rather more easy to square with that in the first two Gospels.[1] Were we, however, to admit the identity, not of the two occasions, but of the women who anoint, a point to which we shall come presently, it would then be just possible that St. John had to this slight extent "telescoped" the two accounts together, a process of which we find some other examples in the Gospels.[2] It forms, indeed, but one category among the several phenomena in the four Gospels due to association of ideas—phenomena which more mechanical solutions of the Synoptic problem are apt to overlook.

[1] May not the reference to embalming (John xii. 7, Matt. xxvi. 12, Mark xiv. 8) be said to favour the hypothesis of the more complete and more unusual anointing?

[2] Thus the words ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρά in Luke iv. 16 are best taken to cover not only Christ's first arrival at Nazareth after His baptism, mentioned in Matt. iv. 13 and implied in John ii. 12, which is parallel to the latter; but also His teaching there, Luke iv. 16–30 being in this connexion paralleled by Matt. xiii. 54–58, Mark vi. 1–6*a*. It would take too long to work out this subject properly.

The anointings are distinct; it remains to be seen whether it be one and the same person that anoints. And besides the three episodes in which Martha's sister figures, and the single one of the "sinner in the city," there is a third group to be considered, relating to Mary Magdalene. We first hear of the latter in Luke viii. 1–3, immediately after the incident of the "sinner in the city." Seven devils have gone out of her, and she is ministering with many other women to our Lord and the Twelve. We only hear of her again at the Cross [1] and the tomb.[2]

To proceed in order, we may examine the pros and cons for the identity (1) of Mary Magdalene and "the sinner," (2) of "the sinner" and Martha's sister, (3) of Mary Magdalene and Martha's sister.

In favour of the identity of the first pair we have the fact that the first mention of the Magdalene in Luke viii. 1–3 follows immediately the "sinner" episode. St. Luke, it is true, does not explicitly say that it is the same person; but no more does he say that it is the publican Levi who has become the apostle Matthew.[3] This latter omission, perhaps, we could not attribute so directly to St. Luke's own initiative as the former, for the name is always Matthew except in Luke v. 27, 29, and the parallel Mark ii. 14; while the Marcan narrative also fails to give the identification. Nevertheless we can scarcely suppose St. Luke to have been ignorant of the fact that Levi was Matthew, and in the case of one so marked for his tender feeling we may well assign delicacy as one motive for silence. And the motive would be stronger in the case before us.

The seven devils which had gone out from the Magdalene

[1] John xix. 25; also Matt. xxvii. 55–56, Mark xv. 40–41, which correspond in some measure to Luke viii. 2–3.

[2] Matt. xxvii. 61, xxviii. 1–10; Mark xv. 47–xvi. 8, xvi. 9–11; Luke xxiv. 1–11; John xx. 1–18.

[3] Luke v. 27, vi. 15.

undoubtedly create a serious difficulty, for possession seems to exclude the moral responsibility required for a " sinner " of " many sins." Yet a careful examination of the New Testament evidence may show that the argument is not so peremptory as might at first sight appear.

It is probably shortly after the " sinner " episode that we find Christ Himself accused of having an unclean spirit,[1] and immediately before it He speaks of a similar charge being levelled at the Baptist.[2] In St. John the Jews thrice declare that Christ has a devil ; [3] and the evangelist himself tells us that Satan entered into Judas, in words paralleled by St. Luke.[4] The Pharisees must have suited their slanders to the manner of life of the forerunner ; it is difficult to believe that they meant that he was in the full sense of the word possessed. In the case of Christ the retort found in John x. 21 would tell with redoubled force against such a barefaced charge. The example of Judas appears to clinch the matter. The entry of Satan did not exclude guilt, to which Christ could point with unique and terrible emphasis.[5] Rather the guilt itself lay in a complete surrender of self to him,[6] instead of to Christ and God.[7] Lastly, in the parable of the return of the unclean spirit with seven others,[8] the moral of which is pointed in St. Matthew, it would surely make havoc of the sense to suppose that there was no question of moral responsibility. Neither the earlier nor the later presence of the spirit seems to have excluded it. Yet it is to be presumed that he was driven out perforce, like the seven devils from the

[1] Mark iii. 30. [2] Matt. xi. 18 ; Luke vii. 33.
[3] John vii. 20 ; viii. 48 ; x. 20.
[4] John xiii. 27 ; Luke xxii. 3.
[5] Matt. xxvi. 24 ; Mark xiv. 21. [6] John vi. 70.
[7] John xv. 1–6 ; xvii. 20–23.
[8] Matt. xii. 43–45 ; Luke xi. 24–26. No stress can be laid on the agreement of the number with that of the devils cast out of the Magdalene. The discussion of this would take us far afield.

Magdalene.[1] Thus the notion that seven devils might be dwelling in a " sinner " cannot at once be ruled out of court.

So much for the identification of the " sinner " with the Magdalene. We may now discuss more at large the identification of the " sinner " with Martha's sister. In Luke x. 38–42 Mary hangs on the Master's lips in a way that has all the deeper meaning if we suppose her one that had been lost. Perhaps she is still somewhat shy of attempting to take her old place in the family. Martha is more prosaic and business-like. Then, as to the anointings, the narratives gain in point if we suppose that, though the occasions were different, the persons were the same. The parable of the two debtors would be more than ever a home-thrust if Christ had cured Simon of leprosy ; and if he was related to the sisters, as we should infer from Martha keeping house for him, he would know only too well that the woman was a sinner, and might resent a reappearance that was in reality the return of a prodigal. Not that the identity of the woman anointing necessarily supposes that of the host ; the name was common. But the considerations just put forward do as a matter of fact make in that direction, and the inference that he must have had a house in Galilee as well as at Bethany does not in itself present any great obstacle. The second anointing would have a peculiar beauty of its own, by reason of its different purpose and mystical significance. Mary, being at once so intimate with Christ and in close touch with Jerusalem, had every reason to believe that the end must be nigh ; and such a belief on her part seems to be implied in Christ's own words.[2] We cannot ignore the first anointing ; it must be understood either to heighten or to take away from the effect of

[1] Mark xvi. 9 supplies us with the natural interpretation of Luke viii. 2.

[2] John xii. 7 ; Matt. xxvi. 12 ; Mark xiv. 8. No argument is drawn in the text from John xi. 2, because it appears to refer to what follows.

the second. To identify the two or to tamper with the text are alike desperate expedients.

Of the arguments on the other side several are arguments from silence, always dangerous, but doubly so in a question like this, where we know so little of the way in which the narratives were put together. But here, as in the case of the Magdalene, there is also a positive argument of some force against supposing a previous state of sin. In John xi. 45 it is said that many of the Jews who had come to Mary believed. Why to Mary? We should scarcely expect them to treat her with so much consideration if she had such a notorious past; and that she had been ministering to Christ in Galilee since her conversion would scarcely do much to help matters, for the verse just referred to compels us to assume that for the most part they did not themselves believe in Him. Even now some are hardened; in the effects of the miracle a clear contrast is drawn.

The best answer to this objection appears to be, that it was Mary who was the more prominent in the eyes of Christ's circle, because closer to Him, and that the very devotion of the sisters to Him would make those outside the circle take the same view of their relative importance. They might feel that they were coming to Mary, even if they would not have come for her alone. Martha was the elder sister, and the manager; but Mary was in every way the more striking character. Perhaps, too, it may not be fanciful to deduce from the narrative that Mary's sorrow for Lazarus, as we should expect, was somewhat the deeper of the two. In any case the evangelist himself says a little earlier [1] that the Jews came to console both Martha and Mary; which shows that we must beware of putting too much emphasis on the other passage.

It remains to discuss the identity of the Magdalene with

[1] John xi. 19.

Martha's sister ; an easier task, by reason of the larger supply of data. Both are intimate with Christ and, it appears safe to add, with St. John. Followers so close are not lightly to be multiplied, whether there be question of the beloved disciple, of James the Lord's brother, or of these Maries. Again, the Magdalene, we gather, was well off, and to suppose that hers was the house at Bethany would not only have the advantage of assigning her a suitable lodging near Jerusalem, which one would expect a well-to-do Jewess to possess, but also of making her provide for the Master even there. On the other hand, there is urgent need of attributing to Martha's sister some of the Magdalene episodes. How should she have nothing to do with the crucifixion save as one of a crowd, especially after Christ's words in John xii. 7 and the parallels ? And Christ was so little in Jerusalem that His friendship with Lazarus and his sisters [1] presents a real difficulty unless we suppose it to have flourished in Galilee also. Again, the traits of character blend harmoniously together, both in this case and in that of the " sinner." Lastly, the use of ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία in Matthew xxvii. 61, though to be explained in the light of Matthew xxvii. 56, would be a little strange, if it really involved the complete ignoring of Martha's sister.

The objection that there is no sign that Martha's sister went about with Christ in Galilee has already been met in part ; it is at least as difficult to suppose that she did not. But how came she to be named after what was presumably a town in Galilee, if her real home was at Bethany ? It is here that the identification with the " sinner " would stand us in good stead. In " Galilee of the nations " she would find more opportunity to sin. How far she might also be separating herself from her family circle is a question the answer to which depends partly on the view we take

[1] John xi. 5.

of the two Simons. If, in fact, we identify them, it must remain an open question whether the family was predominantly Galilean or Judaean.

We have now taken a fairly complete survey of the evidence, and the reader may draw his own conclusions. To the present writer it appears fairly safe to identify Martha's sister with the Magdalene, and, if anything, slightly more probable that this Mary was the "sinner."

CUTHBERT LATTEY.

A FURTHER NOTE ON TESTIMONIES IN BARNABAS.

IN a recent discussion of certain obscure words in 1 Peter ii. 8, according to which it seemed at first sight as if those who stumbled at the Corner Stone and Rock of Offence did so by necessity and of Divine appointment, I tried to show from a parallel passage in the Epistle of Barnabas that there was a slight error in the text of Peter, and that it was the stone which was appointed of God, and not, in Peter's view, those who stumbled at it: and I do not doubt that there will be not a few reverent students of the New Testament who will say something of this emendation, which corresponds in theological language to the Shakesperean terms "for this relief, much thanks!"

In the course of the argument to which I refer it was shown that Barnabas was under the influence of one of those early collections of proof-texts from the Prophets which I call "Books of Testimonies," more exactly described in early times as *Testimonies* (or Quotations) *against the Jews*. This observation was quite independent of the question whether the text of 1 Peter ii. 8 ought to be emended or not. It was deduced from a coincidence (or at least an overlapping) between the argument of Barnabas and that which is

involved in Cyprian's *Testimonies against the Jews*. And if the argument is a valid one, it must clearly be carried further. The detection of the source employed by the Epistle of Barnabas, or of the method which he follows, must lead to results in the exegesis of that perplexing document, and in one case at least, as we shall show, to the rectification of its text.

Let us then, in the first instance, confirm the correctness of our observation, made by the juxtaposition of a passage in Barnabas with a sequence in Cyprian's *Testimonies*, by trying for parallels and coincidences in another quarter.

Suppose we turn to Hilgenfeld's edition of the Epistle of Barnabas, and examine the cases which he has collected of the employment of Barnabas by later writers. We shall find that he recognizes a number of loans from Barnabas in a book which is ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa, as follows! "Gregorius Nyssenus in libello *ἐκλογαὶ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους* 7, 11, 12 tacite reddidit Barnabae ep. c. 12, p. 31, 1, 2, c. 9, p. 22, 13 sq., c. 2, p. 6, 14 sq.; cf. quae adnotavi, pp. 74, 79, 113."

To the three cases here specified as instances of borrowing from Barnabas on the part of Nyssen, he adds in a note that Nyssen has also borrowed from Clement of Rome:

"Addo, Gregorium Nyssenum (l. l. c. 16, p. 322) etiam Clementis Rom. ep. 1, c. 53, p. 59, 1–3 usum scripsisse: *Μωϋσης· Εασόν με ἐξαλεῖψαι τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνος μέγα καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον τούτου.* Cf. Exod. xxxii. 31, 33."

Now concerning these supposed loans on the part of Nyssen from Barnabas and from Clement of Rome, it is sufficient to remark that the book is expressly called "Selections of Testimonies against the Jews": with the single exception that Nyssen says he has added somewhat in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity; and this statement is borne out by the structure of the book: thus in the passage where

the influence of Clement of Rome has been suggested, the sequence is as follows :

" Of the Jews he says : [1] You have profaned it.

" *David* : Ask of me, and I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.

" *Moses* : Suffer me to wipe out this people, and I will give thee a nation, great, and much more than these.

" *Esaias concerning the Jews* : Hear the word of the Lord, ye children of Sodom, etc."

Evidently there is not the least reason to suppose that in making an argument of this kind against the Jews, the Epistle of Clement of Rome has any place. If any priority is to be claimed, it is for the document used by Nyssen, which must have been public property and a storehouse of quotations beyond any single writing of an apostolic father. Hilgenfeld is, then, wrong in his reference to Clement. If Clement varies from the current text of the LXX, and combines separate scriptures together, this would be only one more argument for the use of a Testimony book by him, and not conversely.

But if Hilgenfeld is wrong in his note on Clement, he is equally wrong in his three references to Barnabas on the part of Gregory of Nyssa. In order that the argument may be clear and decisive we will examine the passages in debate with some care.

Barnabas denounces the Jewish sacrifices as follows :[2]

" To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices ? . . . for who hath required these things at your hands ? . . . your new moons and your sabbaths I cannot away with."

Then he adds *de suo* : " These things, then, he has done away (*κατήργησεν*) in order that the new law of our Lord

[1] Greg. Nyss., l.c., p. 322. [2] Isa. i. 11–13.

Jesus Christ, which is without any yoke of necessity, might not have its offering a man-made thing."

Then he quotes again:[1] "Did I ever command your fathers when they came out of Egypt to offer to me? etc."

Now in this connexion observe that the quotation with which Barnabas begins is in Cyprian, *Test.* i. 16, and that the heading of the section in Cyprian is

Quod sacrificium vetus evacuaretur et novum celebraretur,

and that another section near by has the heading

Quod jugum vetus evacuaretur et jugum novum daretur.

Here, then, in the Cyprianic titles we have the motive for Barnabas's reference to *new law*, and *new yoke*, and to the *abolition* (*κατήργησεν*) of the old law and yoke. Clearly Barnabas is using the Testimony book.

The passage which he quotes from Jeremiah appears in Nyssen in the following form:

"*Esaias.* Did I ever command your fathers? etc.," and again, "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices? etc."

Here the false reference to Isaiah in the first quotation is an anticipation of the quotation which is to follow: and the displacement of the title is one more proof that Nyssen is working, as he affirms, from a book of Testimonies. There is, therefore, no reason whatever for the supposition that Nyssen is quoting from Barnabas, when both he and Barnabas are seen to be quoting independently from collections of prophecies.

Now let us turn to the passage from Barnabas (c. 9) in which the writer denounces circumcision. Barnabas begins by saying:

"But the very circumcision on which they trust has been done away (*κατήργηται*): for he said that there should be

[1] Jer. vii. 22, 23.

brought about a circumcision which is not of the flesh . . . and he says to them : Thus saith the Lord your God (so I find it commanded), do not sow among thorns, be circumcised to your Lord "[1] : and what is it that he says ? "Be circumcised in your hard hearts, and do not any more stiffen your neck."[2] Take another passage : "Behold ! thus saith the Lord, all the Gentiles are uncircumcised in their bodies, but this people are uncircumcised in heart."[3] But you will say, "Yes, but the people of God was circumcised for a seal." "Truly : but so is every Syrian and Arab and all the idol priests, but they do not on that account come within the covenant, etc."

Now does that look like the use of a Testimony book ? First, we notice that Cyprian (*Testim.* i. 7) has a special section to show that circumcision is abolished. The title of the section is

Quod circumcisio prima carnalis evacuata est et secunda spiritalis repromissa est.

Compare this with Barnabas's introductory remarks, and the priority of the Cyprianic matter is evident. Cyprian begins his bunch of quotations as follows :

"*In the prophet Jeremiah* : Thus saith the Lord to the men of Judah and to those who inhabit Jerusalem : *renovate inter vos novitatem*, and sow not amongst thorns : circumcise ye to the Lord your God, and circumcise the foreskin of your heart, etc."

That is, Cyprian begins with the very same quotation as Barnabas.

But what of Nyssen ? He, too, has a section on circumcision. After some preliminary matter on the new covenant, he says :

"In reproof of the Jews he says : All the Gentiles are uncircumcised in flesh, but this people in heart. And again :

[1] Jer. iv. 3. [2] Deut. x 16. [3] Jer. ix. 25.

Be circumcised in your heart and not in your flesh. And again : *Νεώσατε ἑαυτοῖς νεώματα*, and do not sow among thorns, but circumcise the hard part of your heart."

Then follows an argument as in Cyprian and Justin and elsewhere about the just men who were never circumcised, etc.

Now, why should we say here that Nyssen is quoting Barnabas ? he is nearer to Cyprian than to Barnabas in some points : he is ostensibly quoting testimonies, and what he is doing, ostensibly, we have shown that Barnabas is also doing, obscurely. There is not the least need to forge a link between Barnabas and Nyssen in order to explain the phenomena.

Our third instance is a curious passage in which Barnabas maintains that the Christ is not the son of David, but his Lord. It runs as follows :

" Since they are for saying that the Christ is son of David, David himself prophesies, in fear and knowing well the error of the sinful men : [1] The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit on my right hand, till I make thy foes thy footstool." And again Esaias speaks on this wise : [2] " The Lord said to the Christ my Lord, whose right hand I have taken hold of, for the nations to obey before thee, and I will break up the power of kings. See how David calls him Lord, and he does not call him son."

If we examine the sequence here, we see that the argument of the first quotation is broken by the second one. Barnabas has copied too far from his book of extracts and has to turn back to pick up the thread of his argument. But that the passage from Isaiah was before him may be seen by referring to Cyprian on the one hand, and to Gregory of Nyssa on the other. For the passage from Isaiah is one of Cyprian's proof texts that the Jews are to be dis-

[1] Ps. cix. 1. [2] Isa. xlv. 1.

placed by the Gentiles (*Testim.* i. 21—Sic dicit Dominus Deus Christo meo domino : cujus tenui dextram, ut exaudiant eum gentes : fortitudinem regum disrumpam, etc.), and the two passages from the Psalms and Isaiah occur together in Nyssen in the following intimate nexus (p. 324) :

"Whereas David says : The Lord said unto my lord, Sit on my right hand, etc., Esaias puts it more clearly, The Lord said unto my Christ Cyrus. But they affirm this to be spoken of Cyrus, king of the Persians : ridiculous ! how can that agree with the rest of the passage, I have holden thy right hand, etc. ?"

We now see how Barnabas was carried too far in his quotation : the two passages were closely linked in the Testimony book. Nyssen does not take his extracts from Barnabas, but from an earlier and more archaic source.

These instances, then, will suffice to show that Barnabas is constantly running on the lines of the old anti-Judaic propaganda. His anti-Judaism is not original with him : it is only accentuated. Almost all the fathers are trained on the same model : but we shall not rightly understand either them or him, either their texts or the interpretations of them, unless we are thoroughly familiar with the making and propagation of these little books of early Christian doctrine.

Now let us apply the foregoing investigation to a special passage.

The thirteenth chapter of Barnabas is taken up with the doctrine of the Two Peoples : it corresponds to a section in Cyprian (*Testim.* i. 19), whose heading is as follows :

Quod duo populi praedicti sint, major et minor, id est, vetus Judaeorum et novus qui esset ex nobis futurus.

Cyprian begins with the story of Rebecca and her approaching twin-birth, and the doctrine that the elder shall serve the younger. So does Barnabas, who expands the

theme. When Barnabas has satisfactorily shown that the Gentiles are the heirs of the covenant and its promises, he concludes the section with the following obscure passage: which we must give in the Greek:

εἰ οὖν ἔτι καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐμνήσθη, ἀπέχομεν τὸ τέλειον τῆς γνώσεως ἡμῶν. τὶ οὖν λέγει τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε μόνος πιστεύσας ἐτέθη εἰς δικαιοσύνην; Ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε, Ἀβραάμ, πατέρα ἐθνῶν τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας τῷ θεῷ.

As we have said, there is something obscure about this: it runs as follows, "Our argument and our teaching will be complete if we can show that by Abraham mention was made." Clearly something has dropped here, and a reference to what follows shows that the Gentiles have disappeared, the new people about whom he is arguing, for Abraham is the father of the faithful Gentiles. Suppose, then, we restore *ἔθνη* before *ἐμνήσθη*. Now let us look at the critical apparatus. *Three MSS. of secondary rank read* *ἐθνήσθη*! The genesis of the error is now obvious: the eye of an early scribe wandered from ΕΘΝΗ to ΕΜΝΗ, and thus an impossible reading arose. This has been corrected by the first-rank MSS. and versions by removing a faulty letter, but without restoring the dropped letters. Amongst these first-rank MSS. is the Codex Sinaiticus. The later MSS. are actually nearer to the truth, at all events; by this time we have got the right text if we get it out of secondary MSS. on the one hand, and, on the other hand, out of a consideration of what the early book of Testimonies was trying to prove. The argument now is that "our doctrine will be complete [as regards the supremacy of the Gentiles], if we can show that Gentiles are mentioned by Abraham. Does not the Scripture say, 'I have made thee a father to Gentiles' who believe, even though they lack the outward sign of the covenant of promise?"

J. Rendel Harris.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

I. Introductory.

This is the first of a series of papers in which the writer sets himself the task of showing on internal grounds that the Fourth Gospel is a historical and not merely, as some present-day critics affirm, a theological document. In speaking, however, of the Gospel as historical we do not mean that the aim of the writer of it was primarily a historical one. His interest may well have been theological, as indeed he expressly states it to have been (xx. 31). But our contention will here be that the writer did not invent his story to teach theological truth. We believe that the things which the Evangelist records as having happened are real events, that they did take place. In saying this we are setting ourselves in opposition to much of the criticism of our day, which denies to this Gospel serious historical value, regarding it as irreconcilable with the Synoptic tradition of the life of Jesus Christ.

For the opposition to the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel is based chiefly on internal grounds. Its external credentials might be accepted by adverse critics were it not for what they consider to be overwhelming objections against its apostolic authorship on the ground of internal evidence. But, as it is, the external evidence is explained away because it is thought that the story of the life of Jesus in this Gospel cannot be brought into agreement with what is acknowledged to be the earlier story in point of time, that, namely, which we have in the pages of the Synoptists. Critics opposed to the Johannine authorship of the Gospel contend that both stories of the life of Jesus—that of the Synoptists and that of the Fourth Gospel

—cannot be alike historical. A choice, then, has to be made between the two, and preference is shown for the Synoptic story. For it is argued that the Fourth Gospel is obviously a theological document, and its writer's interests are theologically determined, so that its genesis is explicable on theological grounds. While, then, the Fourth Gospel may be an interesting psychological study its contents are not history and are not to be so interpreted.

It is because the opposition to the historical character of the Fourth Gospel is based principally on its contents, and because the external credentials of the apostolic authorship of the book are explained away, not for the reason that they are trivial, but because they cannot outweigh the internal evidence, that we shall in these papers confine our attention to this internal evidence, and discuss the historical probability of the events which this Gospel records.

Now it is clear that the mind, when it applies itself to considerations of historical probability, cannot possibly start as if it were a *tabula rasa*. For in judging whether or not a document is historically probable, that is to say whether or not the events recorded in it are likely to have happened, we are either comparing the document itself with other documents which may agree with or conflict with it, or we are judging of the agreement of its recorded events with individual or general human experience. Thus it may be argued that the story in the Fourth Gospel is historically improbable because it contains so much of the miraculous. This is an objection which might equally well be urged against the other Gospels, and it is no part of our present purpose to consider it. The case before us is that of a document purporting to be historical and yet not in agreement with other documents. We have to do with critics who accept the Synoptic account of the life of Jesus as, in the main at any rate, historical, but who

contend that the story of the same life in the Fourth Gospel is so much at variance with it that it cannot be seriously regarded as history. The interests of the writer are so obviously theological that there can be no doubt that his record of the life of Jesus is to be interpreted not historically but theologically.

It cannot be too strongly insisted upon at the outset of our inquiry that the Fourth Gospel does certainly put forth its own claim to be historical, to be an account of things which really happened. Indeed it purports to be the work of an eyewitness of some, at any rate, of the things which it records. Thus at the beginning of the Gospel (i. 14) we read: "And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth." And this assertion of personal witness is clearly put forward in the opening words of the first Johannine Epistle, a work which is generally recognised to proceed from the same hand as the Gospel, whether or no that hand be the hand of John the son of Zebedee: "That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled, concerning the Word of Life (and the life was manifested, and we have seen and bear witness, and declare unto you the life, the eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us); that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also, that ye also may have fellowship with us."

No asseveration of personal witness of the life of Jesus could well be stronger than this. And it is reaffirmed in the narrative of the Gospel. Thus when the writer records the incident of the piercing of the side of the Crucified, out of which there came blood and water, he adds (xix. 35): "And he that hath seen hath borne witness,

and his witness is true : and he knoweth that he saith true that ye also may believe." Whether the statement at the close of the Gospel (xxi. 24) is one made by the author himself or is a later addition, it too is an assertion of personal witness : " This is the disciple which beareth witness of these things, and wrote these things ; and we know that his testimony is true."

This last-quoted verse shows that it is intended that the author of the Gospel should be identified with the person who is described in its pages as " the disciple whom Jesus loved." This is clear from the connection of the verse with those immediately preceding it. We thus have to recognise the presence, purported at any rate, of the writer at several of the scenes described by him. He was present at the Last Supper (xiii. 23), to him was intrusted by Jesus the care of His mother (xix. 26, 27), he was a witness of the empty tomb (xx. 1–10), and he saw personally the risen Jesus (xxi. 7).

Now it may, of course, be said that this is but a device on the part of the writer to give authority to his work. We are told that pseudonymous writing was common in old times and that the practice of it must not be judged by modern standards of authorship. This is indeed an important point that has to be borne in mind in estimating the genuineness of ancient writings. But it may be questioned whether it has much to do with the case before us. For what the writer does *not* do in his Gospel is to lay claim to a great name. It is the modesty of his reference to himself that specially strikes us. He never names himself at all, but he employs always a circumlocution when he has to make mention of himself. Thus we have seen above how he describes himself as " the disciple whom Jesus loved," the identity of this disciple with the author, real or purported, being assured to us by the statement of xxi. 24.

And there can be little doubt that the writer intends the reader of the Gospel to see his presence at other scenes which he records, when he does not name himself. When in the first chapter (35 ff.) he tells of two disciples of John who both followed Jesus at the instigation of the Baptist he gives the name of one of them but not that of the other. "One of the two that heard John speak and followed Jesus was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother." It has been generally understood that the other was the author himself.

So again in xviii. 15 he writes that two disciples followed Jesus from the garden, where the betrayal had taken place, to the palace of the high priest. The one disciple he names —Simon Peter—the other is spoken of simply as "another disciple." It can hardly be supposed that the author was ignorant of the name of this other disciple, for he tells us so much about him. He "was known unto the high priest, and entered in with Jesus into the court of the high priest." And when Peter was standing outside "the other disciple which was known unto the high priest went out and spake unto her that kept the door, and brought in Peter." And it was in connection with this admission of Peter by the porteress into the court of the high priest that the first denial made by Peter of his Master occurred. The whole account of this scene is indeed most graphic and circumstantial, and the character of the description is at once explained if it be the work of an eyewitness, as it will be if the author be that other disciple. In a later paper we shall return to this matter. The point which it is sought to emphasise now is that while the author of the Gospel does undoubtedly seem to wish to give his readers the impression that he himself played a part in some, at any rate, of the scenes which he describes, and that he writes as one who knows because he has seen and heard, he yet does this with such modesty and self-suppression that it becomes absurd to treat the Gospel as a

pseudonymous writing which claims authority by the use of some great and honoured name.

It must not, however, be denied that it is possible that the writer of the Gospel may have wished to make it appear that he was an eyewitness of the events that he records in order to give authority to his writing. But there is a serious objection to this theory of the make-believe of discipleship, which may be briefly stated here. It is this. The claim to be a personal disciple and eye-witness is not sufficiently prominent to support the theory. It is altogether too casual and by-the-way. For it must be remembered that the theory presupposes that the writer's interest is mainly theological and that he forges events and puts into the mouth of Jesus words which He did not really speak in order to give support to the doctrine contained in them. But in those parts of the Gospel which are most doctrinal the presence of the writer is not hinted at, with the exception of the chapters which give the discourse in the upper chamber at the Last Supper. He does not anywhere in those sections of the Gospel which give our Lord's public discourses refer to his own presence at the time they were delivered. He does not say: I was there, and I heard these words, and I know, therefore, that they are the doctrine of the Lord. Even in the upper chamber, where the writer represents himself as present, he does not emphasise his presence. The only two occasions in the Gospel where the personal witness of the writer is specially emphasised are those which have been already mentioned, namely, the piercing of the Lord's side, whereat there came out blood and water, and the manifestation of the risen Jesus. As by the mention of the one the writer gives his personal testimony to the actual death of Jesus, so by his record of the other he bears witness to the Lord's triumph over death.

Personal witness is all-important on such points as these; and if the witness which the writer so emphatically gives were not true, he would be an impostor; and no appreciation of the sublime grandeur of his conception of the person of Jesus Christ should blind our eyes to this fact. There would be no excuse for what would be a deliberate falsehood. Even if these things did take place and the writer had not personal experience of them and yet said that he had, he would stand guilty of a deception which no good intention could justify. If the words of xix. 35 be not true, they are gross deceit. For even though xxi. 24 may be no claim of the author of the Gospel, but an addition made by some other writer who may have genuinely believed what he said, the same cannot be said of xix. 35. The words, "He knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe," could only come from the writer of the Gospel himself; for he alone could testify that he knew that he was speaking the truth. For while one, other than the author of the Gospel, might testify that the author was saying what was true—a testimony which he could only give if he had independent evidence of the truth of what was related—he would not be likely to say that the author knew that he was speaking the truth; whereas the statement comes quite naturally from the Evangelist himself.

We must not, however, omit to mention, in passing, the opinion that has been entertained that the pronoun ἐκεῖνος in this verse has reference, not to the Evangelist, but to the Lord Jesus. This opinion originates with Zahn (*Einleitung*, ii. p. 476), and it has found favour with Dr. Sanday. It is not necessary to discuss the matter here, for the argument is not seriously affected by it, but I confess that I prefer Westcott's view that the person intended by ἐκεῖνος is the same as the subject of μεμαρτύρηκεν.

But even if we suppose that Zahn is correct and that what is here written amounts to "Christ knoweth that what the writer is saying is true," it would still remain true that we have here an asseveration of the Evangelist himself and not the testimony of another. For a man is not wont to call Heaven to witness that something that has been said is true unless it be what he himself has said.

The claim, then, of the author of the Fourth Gospel to have been a personal disciple of Jesus, and to have seen and heard something of that which he records, seems unmistakable. It is a claim put forward by the Evangelist himself, and it is supported by the testimony of xxi. 24. But this claim has been and still is disputed. It becomes necessary, then, to examine it and to decide whether it can be justified. If it be the case, as adverse critics contend, that the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel is not the Jesus of the Synoptists, but the poetic creation of a later time, then the Gospel is not historical in the true sense of the word.

But how shall we institute our inquiry, and on what principles shall we carry it forward? Our document does not stand alone, but it has to be considered in relation to the other three Gospels. We are assuming that the Synoptic Gospels are, speaking generally, historical, that they give a true picture of Jesus Christ, who really did do and say the things which He is in them represented to have done and said, that they are a faithful account of His deeds and words and of His manner of living and speaking. Of course it has to be borne in mind that there are differences and divergences even among the Synoptists, but for our purpose these are for the most part unimportant, though they have their importance in what is known as the Synoptic Problem. With that we have not here to do. Assuming the general historical correctness of the Synoptists, we have to bring the Fourth Gospel into connection with them.

On comparing the Fourth Gospel with the other three we observe that it covers ground which they also cover, while it also contains much matter peculiar to itself, namely, the Judaean ministry of Jesus. It seems desirable, then, first of all to compare with the Synoptists those parts of the Fourth Gospel which treat of subjects common to it and them. For the time the Judaean ministry peculiar to St. John may be left out of account. We will first inquire whether the character of the Fourth Gospel in those parts of it which touch closely the Synoptic narratives is such that its claim to be the work of a personal disciple and eyewitness can be sustained. For if it be indeed the writing of one who drew from his personal experience, this ought to show itself in the narrative. The author need not agree with the Synoptists in every detail, but in the main he should, and we ought to find incidental touches which give evidence of personal witness. Agreement with the other Gospels would of course prove nothing in itself, for our author, if he be only a fictitious disciple and eyewitness, will have drawn his information from them. We must look for independence even in those parts of the Gospel which touch the Synoptists most closely. We must test our Evangelist in regard to those points in which his account of things, which the Synoptists record, differs from theirs, either in the way of correction or of addition.

I may say, then, at once that a careful examination of those parts of the Fourth Gospel which can be compared with the other three as treating of a common subject, has led me to the conclusion that the Evangelist is indeed writing from personal experience, and I desire to state at length my reasons for this conclusion.

The sections of our Gospel which we shall first examine, being those which touch closely the Synoptic narratives, will be the ones which deal with the ministry of the

Baptist, with the betrayal, trial and crucifixion of Jesus, and with the post-resurrection appearances. After dealing with these we will pass to consider a group of five other events common to the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel, namely, the cleansing of the temple, the feeding of the five thousand, the walking on the sea, the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and the Last Supper.

After we have examined in some detail these parts of the Fourth Gospel which treat of events which the other Evangelists also treat of, and substantiated the claim of the fourth Evangelist to be a personal disciple and eyewitness, we can proceed to the consideration of those sections of his Gospel which treat of the Judaean ministry, and we shall start without prejudice against their historical probability.

It will have been noticed that we have been proceeding on the assumption that the Fourth Gospel is the work of one author, and it may be objected that we have not allowed for the possibility that in some parts of the Gospel we may have the work and testimony of a personal disciple while in other portions this may not be the case. Well, for my own part, I believe that this Gospel is one and indivisible, and that it is impossible without violence to dissect it or sever one part from another. The narrative flows on without creating any suspicion that at any point of it a new hand has become engaged on it. I except, of course, the section at the beginning of chapter viii. and the two concluding verses of the Gospel. The rest is all alike written in the style peculiarly "Johannine," a style so distinctive that it seems well nigh impossible that it could proceed from more than one person. It is the style of the Fourth Gospel and the style too of the so-called First Epistle of St. John. And if we can make good our contention that the Fourth Gospel is the work of a personal disciple as it claims to be,

then there is very good reason to believe that its author is John the son of Zebedee.

I do not propose to discuss the theory put forward by Delff and subjected to criticism by Dr. Sanday (*The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*), that the author of certain parts of the Fourth Gospel, though a personal disciple, is yet some other person than John the son of Zebedee. The choice seems to me to lie between the traditional authorship and a mere make-believe of personal testimony. My object in these papers is primarily to vindicate the historical character of the Fourth Gospel, so that the person of the writer of it is not of chief concern. But I am persuaded that if the Gospel is recognised, as I believe it will have to be, but is not in Delff's theory, as an indivisible whole, and the writing of a personal disciple, it will be acknowledged to be the work of John the Apostle.

E. H. Askwith.

BABYLON AT THE TIME OF THE EXILE.

The capital importance of the city of Babylon for the history of Western Asia and indirectly for the history of the entire Occident has received additional emphasis from the recent progress of Assyriology. Interest in Cuneiform studies, at first largely confined to Assyria, has continually inclined toward Babylon, more especially to ancient Sumer and Akkad, where the literature and art of Western Asia were created. Babylon appears in history at the time of the Semitic dynasty of Agade [2800 B.C.] and was probably an ancient Sumerian settlement called *Ká-dingira* or "gate of god," which, translated into the language of the Semitic conquerors, became *bāb-ili* or *bāb-ilê*.[1] Soon after the founding of the Canaanitic dynasty of Sumu-abu about 2230, Babylon was made the capitol of the Semitic empire then known as Sumer and Akkad and remained the centre of political, religious and literary influence until the Persian conquests of Cyrus the Great.

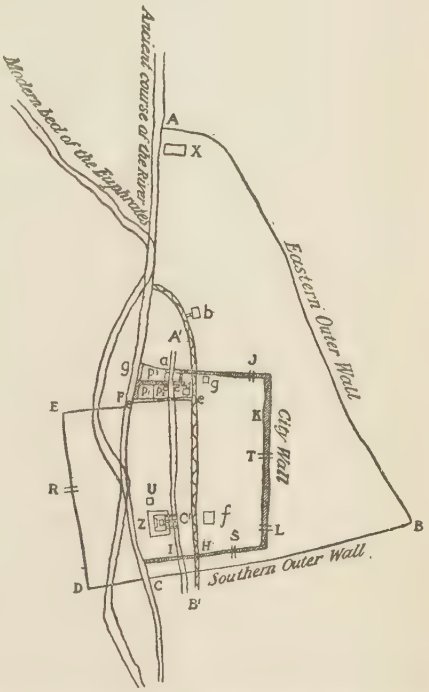
In the last epoch of Babylonian history, commonly known as the Neo-Babylonian Empire, 626–538 B.C., the city enjoyed a peculiar position of pre-eminence in Asia, whose significance can scarcely be over-estimated. A movement now began in the temple schools of the ancient cults such as Nippur, Ur, Erech, Sippar, Barsippa, and especially in Babylon itself, which may be called the Babylonian Renaissance. New literary forms were created, the archaic Sumerian writing revived, and essentially all the poetry, history and lexicography of the past collected and re-edited.

[1] Naturally the Hebrew etymology for Babylon in Genesis xi. 9, where the name is explained from a root בבל, "be in confusion," is a popular and legendary derivation out of which may have grown the story of the Tower of Babel and the Confusion of Tongues. At least two languages, Sumerian and Semitic, were spoken in Mesopotamia before Babylon existed.

A Plan of Babylon according to recent Excavations and Newly-Discovered Texts.[1]

Arahtu Canal.
Wall Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel.

A′—C′. Street Aiburšabum.
a. The gate *Bābu-ellu*.
c. The Ištar gate.
ϵ–ϵ. Libilhegallu Canal.
d. Temple of Ninmah.
f. Temple of Ninib.
g E-kidur-inim, temple of Zarpanit.
a–c. The street *Ištar-lamassi-umānišu*.
B′–I. Street for Nebo's entrance from Barsippa.
b. Temple of sacrifices (?).
I. The Anu Gate, or *Ikkibšu-nakar*.
J. The Ninib or Zamama gate (?).
L. The Enlil gate (?).
S. The gate of Sin (?).
R. The gate of Ramman (?).
T. The gate of Šamaš (?).
P. Palaces, see plan B.
Z. Esagila, see plan C.
X. Northern palace in the ruins of modern Babil.



U. The location of the modern mound Ṣaḥan, possibly the site of the treasure house.

The scholar can with difficulty distinguish in the astonishing mass of literary and scientific work, which the Neo-Babylonian period has bequeathed to us, what is original and

[1] Note that the city wall consisted of two walls. The inner wall or Imgur-Bel was the real city wall; the outer city wall ran parallel to the inner line of defence, and at a very short distance from it. The map indicates both walls as a single construction which must not be taken literally. The line A-B-C bears the special designation, Eastern Wall, in the inscriptions, and this term is retained here. Topographically one should call it the outer wall.

what is copied from the classical age [*circa* 2560–1800]. At any rate the schoolmen, although good historians and astronomers, may scarcely be called the founders of a powerful literature such as marked the era of Hammurabi. Especially characteristic of their new editions and historical compilations is the tendency to redaction. Scribes did not hesitate to change proper names, cleverly omit or insert phrases, alter pronouns and genders, and to insert whole sections bodily into older documents. From the point of view of the mathematical and historical sciences, the period of the Exile represents the best of Mesopotamian and Semitic culture. On the side of the plastic arts the architects of Nebuchadnezzar the Great [604–561) produced at least one notable achievement in creating wall decorations with glazed bricks, an art zealously pursued by their Persian conquerors in the palaces of Persepolis.

The immense learning and the literary methods of the scribes of Babylonia certainly made a great impression upon the Hebrews who lived as captives in various parts of Babylonia. The long historical redactions of Nebuchadnezzar's scribes, whose cylinder inscriptions must have been exposed in public places throughout the empire, had some influence in the later methods of the Hebrew schoolmen who collected the documents of the Old Testament into its present form. Indeed the most notable literary compilation of the period is engraved upon the rocks of Wadi Brisa in the valley of the Orontes, probably by the scribes who attended the army that captured Jerusalem in 586.

We may not assume that the captives of Judah were settled at the capitol itself. Tablets found by the American Expedition in Nippur mention the canal *ka bāru*, the Chebar of Ezekiel. Professor Hilprecht has also made it probable

that the Hebrews who settled in the vicinity of Nippur named some of their towns after ancient cities of their own land; he cites the following places near Nippur and their Hebrew equivalents, *ḫa-aš-ba-[an]* [1]=Hešbān and *iš-ḳal-lu-nu*=Askalon. The occurrence of the names of Hebrew towns in localities where Hebrews are known to have lived and to have entered actively into the social life of the communities in the times of Artaxerxes I. and Darius,[2] leads to the inference that the Hebrews at Nippur in the Persian period were descendants of the Hebrews of the Exile. Although Ezekiel and a considerable group of exiles lived at Nippur yet the king Jehoiachin must have been held in nominal imprisonment at Babylon, where he was released by Evilmerodak about 560. We may at any rate reasonably suppose that Hebrews resided at the capitol, although, so far as I know, no Hebrew names have been found in contracts from that city.

In 1899 the German Oriental Society, subventioned by the German Emperor, to whose interest in Assyriology much recent progress is due, began systematic excavations on the ancient site of Babylon. The result has been to confirm the Cuneiform records concerning the topography of the city and to discredit the Greek historians almost entirely. In fact an accurate description of the city must be founded upon the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar and Nabuna'id, more especially upon those of the first two mentioned. Before passing to the reconstruction and

[1] Hilprecht, *ḫa-aš-ba-a.*

[2] For a long list of Hebrew names in contracts of this period, see Hilprecht, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. ix. p. 27. This material is utilized by the last edition of *Gesenius-Buhl-Zimmern.* Among interesting Hebrew names found in contracts from Nippur are, *Ḫaggā*, Biblical Haggai; *Ḫananjāma*, Biblical Ananias (Hananjah); *Šamšānu*, Biblical Simeon; *Minjamini*, Biblical Benjamin.

description of the ancient city as we now know it to have been in the time of the Exile, we must notice a few earlier essays upon the subject. Until the appearance of Weisbach's, *Das Stadtbild von Babylon* in the *Alte Orient*, 1904, Heft 4, popular and even scientific descriptions of Babylon had been based upon Oppert's fantastic outline which seems in turn to have followed Herodotus. Oppert had the opportunity [in 1851] of studying and excavating on the site itself, so that scholars naturally relied more or less upon his reconstruction. According to him the two parallel city walls Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel [1] measured about ten English miles on each side and enclosed a square forty miles in circumference. This plan is reproduced by Baumstark in *Pauly's Real-Encyclopedia* (1896]. Oppert's plan nearly equalled the absurdities of Herodotus himself, who gave 120 stadia [about 14 miles] for each of the sides. The statements of Ctesias and Cleitarchus are less pretentious [total circumference about 360 stadia], while Philostratus agrees with Herodotus. The article on Babylon by E. Pannier in Vigouroux's *Dictionnaire de la Bible* [1893] not only follows Oppert but gives a picture of the Hanging Gardens, a phantom of Greek writers, who probably refer to the new palace of Nebuchadnezzar, upon whose roof may have been placed a few plants and shrubs. The short account of Babylon by Robert W. Rogers in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* makes no reconstruction, but says that the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar confirm Herodotus, a statement made also by Dr. Pinches in the *Encyclopedia Biblica*

[1] The names mean "Enlil was merciful," and "The foundation of Enlil." I have transcribed *Bêl*, not *Enlil*, according to the universal custom. The name is invariably written *Enlil*, not *Bêl*, but what can the Aramaic letters N B, found upon bricks by recent excavators, mean unless the reference be to the outer wall *Nimitti-Bêl*? Enlil, the god of Nippur, was frequently used simply for *bêl*, "lord," more especially for Marduk as "lord."

of Cheyne and Black.[1] There is no article on the Subject in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*. Finally we may mention the article on Babylon by Hommel in his *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients*, which unfortunately sets forth the impossible theory that the temple and tower of Marduk stood north of the palace. Hommel, in fact, turned the city exactly upside down. [A short account of recent results may be found in King and Hall's *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (1907), pp. 165 f. and 474–7].

The Germans began their investigations [1899] upon the south-eastern side of the palace mounds, and soon located the Nebuchadnezzar palace [marked p 2 on Plan A][2] in which the remarkable hall of columns and wall decorations were uncovered. In the course of the researches in this part of the mound the workmen came upon a considerable section of the principal street Aiburšabu, which ran north and south by the eastern wall of the palace. This discovery fixed at once the general contour of the city; for the inscriptions mention at least two city gates through which this street passed, and both the palace and the Temple of Bel in their topographic relation to it. Soon afterwards the highest hill of the ruins at the northern end of the *Ḳaṣr* or palace mounds yielded the important information that the northern projection of the palace stood there [p 3]. The inscriptions, moreover, made it clear that the city walls passed between the northern and southern sections of the palace from the river to the Ištar Gate; and as the street already discovered passed through this gate the excavators could fix its site with mathematical

[1] A similar article by Pinches in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*.

[2] This *résumé* of the Expedition does not follow the exact order in which all the discoveries were made in point of time, but the general order given by me is correct.

certainty. When the massive walls of this double gate were at last laid bare the eastern continuation of the city walls could be ascertained; but much obscurity still rests upon the probable line of direction pursued by this wall when it passed this point.

Most important for the topography of the city were the results at the hill Homera [K on Plan A], where sections of the city wall came to light. This find settled the long-standing dispute as to whether the city wall included more than the palace hill or not. According to recent accounts of the experts in charge of the operations, they have succeeded in determining minutely the outlines and construction of the original palace [P′] as well as the city wall so far as concerns the palace hill. The excavations upon the Amran Hill, or the site of the temple [Z] have settled the question as to its position; but the actual finds have been disappointing. The famous Tower of Babel seems to have been mutilated beyond recognition. Across the way from the temple hill to the east in the ruins called Aswad has been located the temple of Ninib, the god of war; the temple of Ninlil, the consort of the earth-god of Nippur, has been discovered near the Ištar gate east of the palaces.

Since Weisbach and Hommel's works [both in 1904, but Hommel used the *Stadtbild* of Weisbach] the German excavations have gone steadily forward; and we are now able to give the general plan of the city with much greater accuracy than Weisbach could do five years ago. In the following discussion I shall eliminate the Greek sources entirely, they are positively useless. The Cuneiform inscriptions relating to the topography of Babylon have been recently edited by the writer of this article, *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire* [1905]. Since this book appeared, Weisbach has published an edition of the famous *Wadi Brisa* inscription from a new collation which

he made while official Assyriologist to the German Oriental Society. His new text has been invaluable in determining the topography of Babylon. A German edition of my book containing all the royal inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire is now passing through the press; and I shall give the references to this edition in all cases where texts are cited.[1] The reports of the excavations have been published in *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, abbreviated MDOG. As I am not in communication with any of the officials either in Berlin or Babylon, new finds may exist which would modify this article.

In ancient times the Euphrates passed through the city in nearly a straight line from north to south. Already, however, in the days of Neriglissar [2] the river had begun to wear its course westward and had to be straightened by that king. Since the Greek period, when kings transferred their seat of Empire to Antioch and Babylon fell a prey to neglect and plunder, the river has continued to wear its way westward, so that it no longer flows past the walls of the palace and chief temple.[3] The mounds of the ancient outer wall, called by me in my translations the Great Eastern Wall,[4] can still be traced nearly the

[1] The numbering of inscriptions in the English edition has not been changed in the German edition, although a great many new inscriptions have been added.

[2] Neriglissar, No. 1, col. i. 41–ii. 5.

[3] The map of the modern city to which my description has reference is that of Weisbach in *Stadtbild*, reproduced by Hommel, *op. cit.* 331, and Hilprecht (after Koldewey) in *Explorations in Bible Lands* (separate sheet). In the transcription of the modern Arabic names of the mounds I follow Weisbach, who knows the dialect of those parts better perhaps than any Assyriologist; he was for a considerable time the resident Assyriologist of the Expedition.

[4] Finished by Nebuchadnezzar and referred to by him so often that one gathers the impression that he regarded it as the most important of his public works. See Nebuchadnezzar, Nos. 4, 5; and, 1 ii. 12–21; 9 ii. 1–9; 13 ii. 25–34; 14 ii. 57–iii. 10; 15 vi. 22–38 and 19 B vi. 46–59. This wall was wrongly identified by previous writers with the city wall proper.

whole distance about the city east of the river. The mound begins at the old bank of the river, now filled with sand, about a mile north of the ancient City Wall,[1] runs east-east by south about six hundred yards, then pursues a south-south by east direction for 4,200 yards. Here the wall turned at a right angle and ran straight to the river, reaching it a short distance south of the great temple of Bel-Marduk.[2] The official description which Nebuchadnezzar caused to be written concerning the wall reads as follows :—"To strengthen the defences of Esagila, that the evil and the destroyer might not press against Babylon, that the attack of battle might not draw near to Imgur-Bel, the wall of Babylon, that which no king had done before me, I did, in that in the outskirt of Babylon, a great wall to the east of Babylon, I constructed about the city. Its moat I dug and attained to the water-level. I saw that the moat-wall which my father had fixed was inadequately constructed. A great wall which like a mountain cannot be moved I built with asphalt and burnt-brick and with the moat-wall of my father I joined it. Its foundation upon the bosom of the abyss I placed. Its top I raised mountain-like. To fortify the flanks of the city I made it three-fold. A huge protecting rampart for the foundation of burnt-brick I laid down, upon the bosom of the abyss I built it and placed its foundation record.[3]

[1] By city wall I mean always Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel which formed one construction.

[2] This wall is marked A-B-C on the plan. The ruins of Esagila are marked Z. *Esagila*, the Sumerian name of Marduk's temple, means, "temple of the lifting of the head." The famous seven-staged tower of Babel stood in the court of Esagila east and north of the main building (or chapel of Marduk, *Ekua*) and bore the name *Etemen-anki*. The term Esagila refers properly to the entire temple including all the shrines and the tower. See for a detailed description farther on. "Esagila" denotes in this article the entire temple structure.

[3] The *temenu* or inscribed cylinder placed in the walls of foundations. The above inscription is taken from a *temenu*.

The defences of Esagila and Babylon I strengthened and created an everlasting name for my reign." [1]

The section east of the river had, therefore, the shape of a huge triangle. The smaller and much less important part of the city west of the river seems to have existed only in the late period. Its wall, whose remains are still visible, enclose a rectangle with the ancient river. The southern wall [D–C on the plan] met the river exactly opposite the end of the Eastern Wall. The north wall joined the river nearly opposite the palace.[2] The ends of the western rectangular section measured about a half mile, the western wall parallel to the river measured about a mile. Nebuchadnezzar seems to have been the first to enclose the city west of the river, but the rampart [C-D-E-F] he does not dignify with the name *dûru*, or wall, but calls it simply a *kāru* or moat-wall. The inscriptions do not mention any wall along the river from the northern end of the Eastern Wall as far as the City Wall, which joined the river just north of the old palace at G. The greatest circumference of the city, therefore, was only seven miles, or, if we add the unprotected river's edge, eight miles at the utmost.

The outline which has just been given holds good for the late period only. When the inscriptions speak of Babylon they mean simply the ancient city within Imgur-Bel. It will be observed from the language of the inscription translated above that Babylon is distinguished from Esagila. From this one might infer that the City

[1] The other accounts state that this Eastern Wall ran 4,000 cubits, or about a mile and 45 rods, east of the city, meaning, I suppose, the nearest point of this wall directly east of the Arahtu Canal (?).

[2] On the plan the modern name of the ruins of the Palace is *Emdschelibe*, more commonly designated, however, by *Ḳaṣr*, the Arabic word for "palace," and applied to the lofty ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's new palace in the northern end of Emdschelibe.

Walls did not include the great temple area [Z] of Esagila, but the temple of Ninib, which stood very near to it in the hill *Ishan il-aswad* [f] is said to be within Babylon and the tower, Etemenanki, is called the tower of Babylon, so that we may be safe in assuming that the huge City Wall, which the excavators found to be more than twenty-two feet thick in places, actually included both the palace and the temple Esagila. I lay considerable emphasis on this statement, which is here made for the first time, since the entire topography of the city depends upon where we locate the City Wall. The two principal mounds of the ruins are those of the palace and those of Esagila [Z].[1] East of the palace ruins at K the Germans excavated a Greek theatre and found considerable sections of both city walls. A long wall in ruins can still be traced from the hill K or *Ishan il-aḫamer* southward until it loses itself in the open field not far from the Eastern Wall. This is evidently the eastern line of the ancient city or Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel.

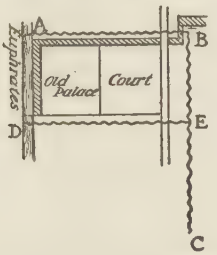
"Babylon," designated the city within the City Walls; the north-west corner, which, as we shall soon see, was especially protected by canals on three sides and the river on the west, contained the palace, and was distinguished from the city itself by the term *irṣit bābili*, "Land of Babylon." This famous palace of the kings of Sumer and Akkad occupied the north-west corner of the city; the city wall not only formed its northern defence but stood between the palace and the river, or rather actually formed the western wall of the palace. I venture to give the following plan of the old palace.

[1] The modern Arabic name for the southern ruins is *Ishan Amran ibn Ali*, or hill of Amran, son of Ali, named after the Mohammedan saint whose tomb lies upon the western summit of the temple hill.

PLAN B.

PLAN OF THE PALACE BEFORE NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

CF. MDOG No. 19, P. 32.



City Wall, Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel, here Nimitti-Bel built close against the inner wall.

A-B-C, Arahtu canal.

D-E, Libil-hegallu canal.

The street Aiburšabum.

This plan represents what I conceive to have been the general scheme of defence of the royal residence from the days of Hammurabi to Nabopolassar. It will be seen that the "Land of Babylon," on which stood the king's palace, was surrounded on every side by water. Nebuchadnezzar extended the building eastward to the wall which separates the street from the court; in other words, he caused the entire area from the street to the river to be covered by the palace. In one of the great rooms in the southern part of this building the German excavators found the marvellous glazed brick columns, with friezes and fantastic designs, which represent the best decorative art hitherto found in the East.[1] In the latter part of his reign Nebuchadnezzar built a huge addition to his palace on the north, i.e., north of the City Wall [p 3]. Naturally the canal which originally flowed here must have been filled in or

[1] The only description yet given of the extraordinary false columns, flower and vine designs of the hall of Nebuchadnezzar can be found in MDOG, No. 13. We may expect a full treatment of the palace, its ornamentation, etc., from the point of view of the history of art and architecture in the near future.

built over. At any rate the new palace was built against the wall itself and the excavations have revealed the great stairway which led down from the northern addition into the throne-room of the Old Palace.

The vast ruins of the temple hill at Amran have been disappointing. In fact, the greatest possible confusion still exists concerning the tower of Babylon and the shrine of Marduk. To add to our perplexity the only tablet which gave a description of this most interesting of all ancient sanctuaries has mysteriously disappeared. It was read by George Smith at Constantinople and a résumé was published by him in the *Athenæum* of February 12, 1876. Most curious and conflicting reconstructions have been made from Smith's sketch of the tablet; among the most ingenious is the plan of Hommel, *Geographie*, 321.

One gathers from the description left by Smith that the great square platform on which stood the tower and chapels was placed within two concentric courts which were not square. Six gates opened on to the inner area from the middle court. The names of four of these are preserved in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar. The following three lists contain the names of these gates.

Smith.	Nebuchadnezzar.
1. The Grand Gate.	1. Gate of Ea.[1]
2. Gate of the East.	
3. The Great Gate.	
4. Gate of the Colossi.	4. Gate of the Colossi.
5. Gate of the Canal.	5. Gate of Plenty.
6. Gate of the Tower View.	6. Gate of Observation.

Neriglissar.

2. Gate of the East.
4. Gate of the Bird Colossi (West).
5. Gate of Plenty (North).
6. Gate of Observation (South).

Smith's translation of No. 6 *bāb tabrāti* is not quite accu-

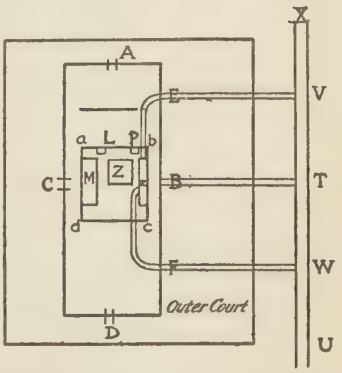
[1] *bāb-nun-abzu*. It is possible that Smith's 1 or 3 is identical with Nebuchadnezzar's *bāb-nun-abzu*. He may have overlooked *abzu*.

rate; he certainly had the same name before him which has been preserved in the inscriptions. The Gate of Plenty, *bāb ḫegalli*, is an abbreviation of *bāb libil-ḫegalli*, "Gate of the Libil-ḫegallu canal," which Smith seems to have read on the tablet. The Libil-ḫegallu canal flowed north of the temple, hence this gate must be identified with the northern gate.[1] The Gate of the Colossi is certainly the western gate, and the Gate of Observation the southern gate. I shall venture to give a plan of the temple of Marduk reconstructed after Smith's description and the few notices in the inscriptions. The excavations have thrown little light upon the problem.

Plan C.

The Temple of Marduk.

A. Gate of Plenty, facing the Libil-ḫegallu Canal.
B. Eastern Gate.
C. Gate of the Colossi.
D. Gate of Observation.
E. Gate of Ea.
F. The Great Gate [so Smith].
a-b-c-d, raised platform *kigallu* on which stood the chapels and tower.
Z. The stage tower, Etemenanki.
M. Chapels of Marduk and Zarpanit. Perhaps many smaller chapels to other deities.



N. Chapels of Nebo and Tašmet and fourteen smaller chapels. The chamber of destiny or Dulazag was in this building. [Weisbach places Dulazag near the gate *Bābu-ellu*.]
L. Chapel of Nusku the fire-god.
P. Chapel of Ea, god of incantations and patron of the water cult [Karragina].
BT. The walk leading from Aiburšabum to the temple, not mentioned in any inscription.
VE. Walk leading from the Chamber of Destiny to the street Aiburšabum, made of breccia stone described in Neb. 15 v. 12–20.
U-W-F-N, street called Nabu-daian-niši-šu, "Nebo, judge of his people," made for Nebo, who entered Babylon from Barsippa through the southern gate, see Neb. 19 A vii. 49.

[1] We shall see in the case of the city gates that the Babylonians chose their names from the locality which each faced.

Herodotus described the tower Z as having eight stages but his statement probably included the platform. The bases of these towers were usually so arranged that the corners faced the cardinal points, not the sides. I have, however, drawn the outline Z with the sides to the cardinal points, since Smith's description states clearly that the platform a-b-c-d was so built. Herodotus gave the sides of the base or first stage as one stadium or 604 feet. Smith gave 270 feet, but the scribes of Nabopolassar determined the sides of the base at one *aba ašlu*.[1] The *ašlu* has been fixed at 120 cubits or 180 feet by Hilprecht. The word *aba*, which in any case determines the word *ašlu*, being unknown, the measurement must regrettably remain uncertain.[2] The following are Smith's figures for the stages.

1 Sides 270 feet, height 99 feet.
2 Sides 234 feet, height 54 feet.
3 Sides 180 feet, height 18 feet.
4 Sides 153 feet, height 18 feet.
5 Sides 126 feet, height 18 feet.
6 Sides 99 feet, height 18 feet.
7 Sides 72 feet, height 45 feet.

It will be observed that the stages 3–7 decrease in size each by 27 feet, and that the last stage formed a sort of spire, within which was built a sanctuary. According to Herodotus nothing adorned this room but a bed and a golden table ; at night a female devotee of the god Marduk slept there.

S. Langdon.

(*To be concluded.*)

[1] Nabopolassar, 1, II, 26.

[2] One must also take into consideration the possibility of Nebuchadnezzar's having enlarged the base, but his own account [No. 17] states that he did nothing more than build upon the lower part [30 cubits high] left by his father.

PALESTINIAN EXCAVATIONS AND THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL.[1]

It would be impossible within the limits of a single paper to describe the many valuable discoveries in the course of recent excavations which have thrown such a flood of light upon ancient Palestine. I do not propose, therefore, to describe the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Lachish, in the Judaean lowlands, and at Gezer, or the fruitful labours of its friendly rivals at Megiddo, Taanach and Jericho. It is true that relatively little has been undertaken in Palestine compared with the achievements in Egypt, Babylonia or Assyria; but a very considerable amount of evidence has been accumulated, and Palestinian archaeology, one of the youngest of studies, has already stimulated Biblical research in this direction. It must suffice for me to refer to the admirable description of Palestinian archaeology by Père Hugues Vincent; to Dr. Benzinger's new edition of his *Hebräische Archäologie* (which shows at a glance how profoundly this subject has advanced in little more than a decade); to the use which has been made of the archaeological material by Professors Marti, Jeremias and Sellin in their studies of the old religion, and to Professor Kittel's recent investigation of certain important features in religious archaeology.

It is with broad historical outlines that I am more particularly concerned. Palestinian archaeology is in its infancy, and one must distinguish between the indisputable results

[1] Based upon a paper read before the Oriental Congress at Copenhagen, August, 1908.

and those which are more provisional or individual. Making every allowance for the incompleteness of the new study, I propose to notice certain points where the assured results of excavation can be brought into touch with the Biblical history and with external or contemporary sources. There are these three lines of research, and where their paths agree, as they do in one important age, we may conclude that practical certainty has been reached. But should they refuse to converge, and this also happens, we may feel sure that the problems at stake are still far from being simplified. These points of contact and divergence affect our perspective of the history of Israel, if not of Palestine itself.

The first feature in Palestinian archaeology which attracts attention is the *lengthy and gradual development of the culture.* From the earliest ages to the Seleucid period there is no cataclysm, no violent substitution of one culture for another. Everywhere there is an orderly progression marked by certain interesting phases which furnish an approximate chronological guide. It has been ascertained that pottery is an invaluable criterion for the classification of the material, and the distinctive features, first formulated by Professor Petrie at Lachish, have been tested and approved by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister in the Judaean lowlands, and again independently confirmed by Professor Sellin at Taanach. By means of the pottery the culture of Palestine has been divided into periods which have been provisionally dated, thanks to scarabs, cuneiform tablets, Greek and other inscriptions. Thence, with the help of historical evidence, the results have been put into some historical framework, so that archaeologists will sometimes associate this or that discovery with one or other of the events in Palestinian history. Thus, step by step, archaeology has to rely upon other departments of research, quite as technical as itself, and it is obvious that we must not confuse purely archaeological evidence with

those inferences which belong properly to the realm of history. For, after all, archaeology is only one of the many handmaidens of history in its widest sense.

Now, one of the many difficulties with which Palestinian archaeology has to contend is the selection of reliable terms for the different phases of culture. When our evidence belongs to the third century before Christ we may style it Seleucid ; when to the ninth, Israelite, and when to the fourteenth, Canaanite, though this will depend upon our date for the Israelite invasion. But Palestinian archaeology can rarely be so precise in its dates. On the other hand, the discovery of cuneiform tablets of the same series as those found at el-Amarna, in combination with other evidence, enables us to recognize what may be called the " Amarna " age. Its culture passes over into that which must obviously be Israelite, since, in due course, there is abundant evidence that we have reached the Seleucid period. But no dividing line can be drawn. The arrival of the Israelites marked neither a revolution nor any abrupt movement progressive or retrograde. There is no sudden change in the pottery, in the sacred places or in the forms of culture. Civilization and religion show no sensible alteration; and if the phases of culture are subdivided into Canaanite and Israelite, it is because after the " Amarna " age the culture falls in a period associated, in the Old Testament, with the occupation of Canaan by Israel and the rise of the Israelite monarchy.

It is often necessary to separate the archaeological evidence from the historical or chronological framework in which it has been placed. This, however, is difficult, as certain adjustments have had to be made from time to time. The introduction of iron, once dated at the Israelite invasion or at the entrance of the Philistines, is now ascribed to about 1000 B.C. Certain characteristic pottery types which had been regarded as pre-Israelite were

subsequently found to extend into the early monarchy. Moreover, at Gezer, Assyrian tablets of the middle of the seventh century were found in strata which had been previously assigned to the early part of the Hebrew monarchy.

All these adjustments of the chronological framework have emphasized one of the most striking results of the excavations: the recognition that the Israelite invasion did not cause that dislocation which would have ensued had the Israelites forcibly taken the place of the Canaanites.[1] The archaeologists are now unanimous that there was no sweeping invasion; only a slow absorption, a gradual process, is the most that the excavations admit. Thus, while external evidence, in turn, ignores any conquest of the invading Israelite tribes, archaeology at last independently supports a view which has been familiar to Biblical scholars for some thirty years.

This agreement in diverse departments of research is so typical of methodical inquiry that where the lines appear to diverge some error of observation or opinion may be confidently assumed. Examples of this have now to be considered.

In spite of many indications of close intercourse between Palestine and Egypt, Palestinian civilization was Asiatic. Egyptian objects can be readily recognized, but the specific origin of the non-Egyptian elements can with difficulty be determined. Although there were relations between Palestine and Babylonia under the First Babylonian dynasty (roughly speaking, about 2000 B.C.), actual imports are few,

[1] In point of fact, a desolated area at Lachish, between the third and fourth cities, once seemed to be due to barbaric tribes, who were naturally identified with Israel; but this view has no longer found justification. Moreover, one skilled excavator who commenced with the belief that the invasion meant an upheaval and break in the continuity, subsequently perceived that there could only have been a gradual settlement.

and several archaeological characteristics (building, seals, figurines) are either not exclusively Babylonian or they are specifically North Syrian.

Intercourse between Palestine and Egypt goes back at least to the Twelfth Egyptian dynasty (also about 2000 B.C.). Excavation, at Gezer at all events, finds little interval for the Hyksos age between the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties, and in the latter dynasty we enter upon the period when Babylonian supremacy had been broken by the Kassites, and when Palestine was politically influenced by Egypt on the one side and by North Syria and Asia Minor on the other. The position of Palestine would lead us to look to the north for all non-Egyptian influence, and it is precisely there and in the later Hittite empire centring at Boghaz-keui that Babylonian influence continues to be found. Thus, although Palestine archaeology has Babylonian and even Elamite analogies, one must take into account our present scanty knowledge of the archaeology of North Syria, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, and it is possible that any *specific* traces of Babylonian culture which may be found in early Palestine entered indirectly from the north long after the great dynasty of Khammurabi had been overthrown.[1]

As a matter of fact, Professor J. L. Myres has shown that the early pottery development in Palestine is to be associated with North Syria and Cappadocia.[2] This is confirmed by Professor Sayce, and Professor Breasted, in his *History of Egypt* (pp. 188, 262), very naturally connects this feature with the prominence of the northern powers in Palestine. The pottery in general reveals certain well-defined influences or affinities which allow us to divide the archaeological history of Palestine into periods. The earliest indigenous

[1] See *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, pp. 106–113. For a recent statement of the northern (" Hittite ") element in Palestinian history at the time of the Amarna Tablets, see Father Dhorme, *Rev. Biblique*, Jan., pp. 61 sqq.

[2] *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1903, pp. 367 seq.

culture is followed by a long series of phases : Mycenaean or Aegean, Phoenician, Cypriote, older and later Greek, until we reach the Seleucid age with Rhodian jar-handles, Roman tesserae, etc. Indeed, later comes an Arab ware closely resembling the older painted pottery of ten or more centuries previously. It is rather remarkable that it should be the *Aegean* ware which inaugurates this series. This pottery has been associated with that of Keft or Crete, the Biblical Caphtor, the traditional home of the Philistines. Its introduction has been ascribed to Aegean invasions—to the Philistines themselves ; and certainly, noteworthy archaeological phenomena always demand some explanation in the history. But there has sometimes been a failure to distinguish true Aegean ware from that of Cappadocian or northern affinities ; and this complicates the problem, because Asia Minor in turn shows some clear traces of Aegean influence from outside. Consequently, only when archaeology has correctly separated Aegean from ordinary Asia Minor pottery, can we ask whether its presence presupposes any dominating historical events. It is to be observed that the specific Aegean ware appears to be of the lower or sub-Mycenaean type ; it comes at the close of the Cretan civilization. Similarly in Cyprus, whose earliest culture-affinities are with Cilicia and Cappadocia, Aegean art appears to reach the island in a mature, not to say decadent stage.[1] Moreover, on the one side, is the fact that the movements in the Aegean basin, especially in the time of Ramses III. (when the Philistines are first mentioned), were accompanied by movements on land from the north. On the other side, neither Egyptian evidence nor the internal situation at the death of Ramses III. proves that any sweeping changes had

[1] J. L. Myres, *Classical Review*, 1896, p. 352. Further research may qualify the above statement, but the meaning of this archaeological feature for the history will still await an explanation.

occurred. If the true Aegean pottery really implies the presence of a new people, it is remarkable that it is only in the pottery that the invaders leave their traces. Besides, we cannot ignore the possibility that Aegean pottery could find its way into Palestine without the aid of Aegean invaders or even traders.

Although the archaeological and historical evidence at present is distinctly incomplete, so far as it goes it does not point to any predominating influences from Babylonia or the Aegean. But the lines converge upon the north, where we have an area fully exposed to those two cultures, and the geographical and political relations between Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia make the north the most natural source of all the culture which was neither indigenous nor Egyptian. The other phases point to the north : Syria, Phoenicia, or to the seaports and their trade with Greece. Even the Arab ware of the Christian period, whose resemblance to the old painted pottery has been mentioned, recalls the theory of the Mesopotamian origin of the Ghassanid culture. Moreover, when, as at Gezer, a unique culture manifested itself, the analogies were with Lydia, Caria and with Cyprus of the early iron age, and iron itself probably entered under the influence of the northern peoples, perhaps about 1000 B.C.

But the external history of this age is obscure. After long rivalries Egypt (under Ramses II.) and the Hittites divided the intervening lands, Palestine and part of Syria falling to the former. Towards the middle of the twelfth century Ramses III. still held Palestine and the sea-trade in the Levant, and imposed the national cult upon Palestine. The sequel to the decay of Egyptian supremacy is unknown. The Hittite empire broke up into a number of small states, and it is curious to find that the name " Hittite " survives to the Assyrian age for the coast-land, including Palestine.

However, in the ninth century the centre of power was still

in the north. The famous coalition which supported Damascus against Shalmaneser for nearly ten years extended from Cilicia to Israel. Damascus had become the controlling factor in the history of the age. Phoenicia, Israel and the South were guided by the fortunes of Damascus against Assyria, and when it fell to Tiglath-pileser IV. Samaria speedily succumbed to Sargon.

The Assyrians were conquerors of the most brutal kind, and wherever they came the whole structure of ancient society was dissolved. By deporting in large numbers the inhabitants of a province and by settling them among strangers, they destroyed the old national or local spirit, and prevented, for a time at least, dangerous insurrections. We can trace the fall of the petty states, the scenes of transportation and importation. Samaria, which contained some 60,000 taxable inhabitants, was partly despoiled by Tiglath-pileser IV., and Sargon carried off nearly 30,000 people when he took the capital. The latter settled new peoples in the land of Ḫatti (Samaria may be included) and in 715 introduced into Israel a number of tribes from the Arabian or Syrian deserts. Judah's unfortunate alliance against Sennacherib was only part of the great unrest in the south; for as the northern states were broken, the south of Palestine came to the front. Judah lost part of its western frontier and the Assyrian king claims 200,000 souls as spoil, and boasts of immense plunder. The external evidence does not furnish the sequel; we need only note, with Professor McCurdy in his History (§ 794), that Sennacherib's apparent leniency to the wasted land was "exceptional and notable." In the seventh century fresh bodies of colonists appear to have been introduced into Samaria by Esarhaddon and Asnapper (Ashurbanipal), and in the reign of the latter we meet with an extensive movement east of the Jordan by which Edom, Moab, Ammon and Hauran were affected. It is not unnatural to compare (with

Winckler) the analogous migration of Israelite tribes and to see in it (with Paton) the beginning of the great overflow from the south which subsequently became more conspicuous. Again external evidence is scanty: only the fact that the Assyrian empire was now rapidly breaking up, partly through internal decay, partly through the Scythian and Babylonian disturbances, indicates that we must not minimize these rather obscure vicissitudes.

Finally, in the sixth century comes the downfall of the Judaean monarchy, with more sweeping changes, and we reach the climax of some 150 years of catastrophe which caused perhaps the profoundest rupture in the entire history of Palestine. A century and a half is little enough in the career of this ancient land and I venture to infer from the evidence which I have rapidly summarized that we must treat it as a monumental epoch. This is no novel conclusion. Not to quote other writers, Robertson Smith, in his *Religion of the Semites*, nearly twenty years ago drew repeated attention to the significance of this age, and he observes that it was as important for religious as well as for civil history (cp. pp. 35, 65, 77 sqq., 358). Peoples were removed from their native soil, the tribal and class organization which had bound them together in their home-lands was dissolved; composed of different elements, some time elapsed before they could assimilate themselves to the older stock among whom they were placed.

The significance of this age can scarcely be realized from the Biblical history; it is also not recognized by Palestinian archaeologists. On the other hand, when we consult their evidence we find that without exception a very marked deterioration of culture makes its appearance in the "Israelite" period. There is a poverty of art, a simplicity of civilization, a distinct decline in the shape and decoration of the pottery; the ugly ware seems to exhibit signs of derivation from skin

prototypes elsewhere associated with desert peoples. Such features have been recognized from the earliest excavations at Lachish nearly twenty years ago. They are beyond dispute, and they are so characteristic that some historical explanation has usually been sought. It is not a new culture, because the old often still survives, but it is a deterioration, and, like the retrogression in Babylonian art after the fall of the First Babylonian dynasty, it is neither normal nor accidental.

We cannot connect this with the entrance of Israel; nothing could be more unanimous than the present recognition of the gradual occupation, the absorption of Canaanite culture, the slow assimilation of the new-comers to their surroundings. But it has more recently been suggested that when the occupation was complete the foundation of the Israelite monarchy inaugurated a new life. Israel, it is supposed, was at last able to show an independent national spirit which was opposed to Canaanite culture. It is urged that this manifested itself in a radical independence of the art, and that Israelite simplicity revealed itself in cult and culture.

Yet this is surely remarkable after the absorption of Canaanite civilization by Israel, and if political changes (viz. the invasion of Israel) do not necessarily affect the general march of civilization, the appearance of this deterioration at the monarchy becomes all the more baffling. Can we reconcile it with the pictures of Israelite luxury in the reigns of Solomon, Ahab, Jeroboam II. or Uzziah, or (in view of intercourse between Israel and Phoenicia) with the beautiful specimens of Phoenician workmanship in Assyria in the eighth century?

Now this decadence is found in a culture period which has a considerable range, extending as it does from a time somewhere after the Amarna age down to somewhere before the

Seleucid. Further, the effort to connect it with the independence of Israel ignores earlier archaeological conclusions. For, in 1891, Professor Petrie at Lachish had actually assigned the characteristic debased ware to the latter part of the Monarchy (*Tell el-Hesy*, p. 47 seq.). He was followed by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister in the Judaean lowlands, and they pointed out that these types survived the monarchy, and continued into Seleucid times (*Excavations*, pp. 72, 74, 101, 124). The evidence from Taanach is somewhat complicated, and can only be treated technically, but considering the adjustments which have been made since 1902, I have failed to find anything which could be urged against the conclusion that this decadence cannot be placed any earlier than the great catastrophes to which reference has been made. This decadence is so marked that an adequate explanation *must* be found, and it is to be found, not in the earlier history of Israel, but in these later vicissitudes which began in the latter part of the eighth century in Samaria, and culminated in the fall of Judah some one hundred and fifty years later.[1]

These vicissitudes form the great dividing-line between the old order, which the Assyrian conquests destroyed, and the new, which arose as new organizations were developed. In the archaeology we reach the dividing-line between an age which has grown out of the Amarna period and that which passes over into the Seleucid. There is no other division; the changes from Canaanite to Israelite

[1] The deterioration at Taanach begins in a culture which lies immediately below that which includes objects ranging from an Egyptian statuette, probably of the seventh cent., vases which in Cyprus are ascribed to the fifth cent., and embossed lamps apparently of even later date. Of course it would only accord with the actual history if the decadence made its appearance earlier in the north than in the south. The absence of this decadence here and there at Taanach and persistently at Jericho (*Mitteil. d. deutschen Pal.-Vereins*, 1907, p. 65) shows that we have to deal with an irregularly distributed factor, and not with any comprehensive conquest or spread of national simplicity.

are imperceptible, whereas after the appearance of this decadence the culture soon overlaps with the Seleucid.

In the Seleucid culture we find Ptolemaic coins, Rhodian jar-stamps, Jewish ossuaries, and other objects extending into the Christian era. These lie immediately above the culture called Israelite or Jewish. Tell-Sandahannah is an admirable illustration of the overlapping, and at Tell-Judeideh, while the first four feet contained Roman, Rhodian and Seleucid remains, immediately below came the debased Jewish pottery and the jar-handles with Hebrew legends. Those who had classified the two cultures as pre-exilic and post-exilic have since adopted other terms, and although it is recognized that the age of Hellenism brought a new material and intellectual culture, there is no line of demarcation and the transition is normal.

In like manner there is no dividing-line in the contemporary internal history when we work back from the Maccabaean age. Professor Montgomery has recently concluded that "both Judaism and Samaritanism go back to a common foundation in the circumstances of the age of the Exile in the sixth century" (*The Samaritans*, p. 61). This "common foundation" is an irresistible inference, and Professor Kennett had previously contended that the Samaritans would not have accepted the post-exilic priestly law unless they had already accepted Deuteronomy.[1] The mysterious periods after the downfall of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah cannot justly be treated as a blank, although the gaps can only be filled by inference and hypothesis; but when independent arguments lead to similar results, there is reason to hope that a start has been made in the right direction. The historical conditions of the "common foundation" form the new starting-point for inquiry into the centuries that precede and follow.

[1] *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1905, p. 174 seq., 1906, p. 498.

Thus, we find that Israelite history involves the following features : the period of Egyptian supremacy, as illustrated by the Amarna letters and the Egyptian evidence. It extends to the age of Ramses III., the first half of the twelfth century. Next come the steps from the entrance of Israel to the independent monarchy, for which we have to rely upon the Biblical sources. Later, the post-monarchical vicissitudes in both Samaria and Judah bring changes in population, dating from the latter half of the eighth century to the sixth. Finally these cannot be severed from the development which, so far as can be inferred, commences at this period and ends in the rivalries of Samaritanism and Judaism.

It is natural to ask how far the conceptions we usually form of the relation between the invading Israelites and the Canaanites may be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the movements in and after the Assyrian age. May we not assume that the later settlers assimilated themselves to their new surroundings, and to the traditions of the land ? would they not also view the history of their entrance from their standpoint ? Such questions as these do not depend upon individual critical positions : anyone can see how far the Samaritans identified themselves with the history of the past and how far this was historically justifiable.

I have referred to the deterioration in Babylonia in the Kassite period. Now, M. Cuq has shown that under the First Babylonian dynasty private property had been normal, rights had been protected by the State. Later, however, the boundary stones place property under the protection of the gods ; society is tribal, cultivable land is collective. The kings and chiefs have their allotted portions, but the individual has only temporary rights, and land can be alienated only with the consent of the group or of the chief. The change is due to the entrance of less civilized tribes,

to whom the decadence in art is to be ascribed; another organization has been planted upon the soil.[1] It is little wonder that a recent reviewer has observed that precisely the same sociological changes were probably produced when Israel took possession of Canaan.[2] But may we not also assume that they could have taken place after the downfall of the monarchies? And this is only one of the questions which arise when we consider post-exilic Palestine and the centuries which immediately precede.

A comprehensive Israelite invasion upon a superior civilization and the later though admittedly obscure movements several centuries afterwards would lead us to expect similar results as regards culture. But Palestinian archaeology has found no decay or change at the entrance of Israel; the deterioration which is so marked as to demand an explanation in the history has long been ascribed to the latter part of the Jewish monarchy; and, if my view is correct, *must* be associated with the vicissitudes of the eighth and following centuries.

The excavations in Palestine have brought many problems, but this conclusion seems certain—the culture which grew out of that of the Amarna age presents a novel decadence and simplicity at a period which is very closely linked with the Greek. The period in question, on historical grounds, *should* be contemporary with the profound changes in Samaria and Judah which extended for over one hundred and fifty years from the latter part of the eighth century. This period, as others have recognized, was as critical for religious as for secular history. As Robertson Smith has observed, the progress of religion and society was much the same in the East and West until the eighth century B.C., when the paths diverge. From

[1] *Nouv. Rev., Hist. de Droit*, 1906, pp. 722 sqq.
[2] *Revue Biblique*, 1907, p. 634.

that time forward the old religion was quite out of touch with the actualities of social life. The old national deities of the small states were powerless. The bond uniting religion and society was broken. The old solidarity of civil and religious life continued to exist only in modified forms. As the national divisions were altered by political changes, religion became detached from local or national connexions ; the naturalistic conception of the Godhead and its relations to man entered upon a new stage. The unity of the state and the national citizenship lost their religious significance, and, as Professor Marti (*Religion of Israel*, p. 173) has remarked, individualism and universalism took the place of nationalism in religion. Professor McCurdy agrees that the Assyrian age suggested to many petty communities wider and more comprehensive ideas of civil government and the destinies of nations (§ 291). The late Professor Davidson has said that the idea of the world was now suggested to prophetic thought (*Prophecy*, p. 72), and Professor Goodspeed refers to the age as a preparation for the next onward movement in the world's history (*History*, p. 330).

It is unnecessary, perhaps, to enlarge upon the profound advances in thought which apparently reached maturity in those obscure vicissitudes when the old order was replaced by the new, and a novel simplicity shows itself in material culture. I need only mention in passing that the old idea of corporate responsibility which regarded the family as the legislative unit, gave way to the recognition of individual responsibility. This was a development, in which the book of Deuteronomy occupies a transitional place, and, indeed, the period to which we are brought may be called roughly the Deuteronomic period.[1]

[1] The influence of political circumstances (the breaking up of national life) upon this development is also recognized after the fall of Jerusalem ;

The historical background to these great landmark scarcely shows itself in the written records of Israel. The compiler of the Deuteronomic book of Kings takes little interest in the north after the fall of Samaria and the northern tribes. The Chronicler had access to earlier sources and traditions, but ignores material in Kings and Jeremiah for the sixth century. In each case the writers are influenced by specific historical views which are at least somewhat artificial.

When we turn, however, to the elaborate accounts of the entrance of all the tribes of Israel, we are confronted with the very serious difficulty of tracing the history from the Canaanite pantheon in the days of Egyptian supremacy to the Israelite monarchy and national God. Historical criticism and the excavations compel us to treat as ideal the widespread and successful conquests of the Israelite tribes under Joshua. They show that the people did not come into forcible possession of the great and goodly cities which they had not built, or the vineyards and oliveyards which they had not planted (Deut. vi. 10, vii 20; Josh. xxiv. 12 seq.). They agree that the impressive lists of the dispossessed nations are rhetorical rather than historical, and this must also be said of the "hornet" sent to aid in the work of extermination. Indeed, if we accept, with archaeologists and Biblical critics, the gradual occupation of Canaan, it is astonishing how much must be treated as ideal, whereas the general scheme of the Deuteronomic writers or compilers includes details which *could* apply to the more recent events in and after the Assyrian age. (Comp. already Steuernagel's hint, *Theolog Stud. u. Krit.*, 1909, p. 12, on Deut. xxiii. 7.)

Now, from the results of literary criticism we may dis

see Dr. J. Skinner, *Ezekiel*, p.143 ; Dr. W. H. Bennett, *Post-exilic Prophets* p. 32.

tinguish three leading recensions of Israelite history. First, the Deuteronomic compilation, introduced by the book of Deuteronomy and extending from Joshua to the end of Kings. Second, the priestly, from Genesis to the end of Joshua, with traces in the remaining books; and third, the history in Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, which at one stage formed a single work. There are, of course, numerous problems of greater or less importance, but they do not affect the conclusion that our *earliest* continuous historical work is due to Deuteronomic compilers, at a time when the old life was being replaced—if it had not already been replaced—by the new.

So, on the one hand, we find at the present day strenuous endeavours to reconstruct the early history of Israel. Attempts are made to determine what the Israelites brought; it is seldom asked, what had the Canaanites to give? Opinions vary as to what Israelite tribes entered Palestine, and under what circumstances; but it is rare that attention is directed to those traditions which are ignorant of a Descent into Egypt and an Exodus. Yet there is evidence for an elaborate Canaanite religion of a not ignoble kind, and many critics recognize in one form or another indigenous tradition distinct from that brought in by immigrants. And, on the other hand, while the excavations do not recognize the early Israelite movement, they point decisively to some widespread changes in and after the Assyrian age—to vicissitudes upon which the external sources throw invaluable though scanty light. We are directed to a period which is distinguished by landmarks in the archaeological, the religious and the social development: a period which culminates in the Deuteronomic history, our *first* consecutive source for the history of the past. Thus, the diverse lines of research combine to point to one and the same age, which, I venture to suggest, gives us a new starting-point

for the historical study of many of the problems of the Old Testament and the history of Israel.[1]

STANLEY A. COOK.

THE POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN THE CONCEPTION OF SIN.

II.

In my former article I pleaded for the adoption of such content for the concept of sin as should make the term "sin" exactly correlative and coextensive with that of "guilt." I did so on the strength of the overwhelmingly important difference that exists between contraventions of objective moral law that are unavoidable or unintentional or are occasioned in innocent ignorance, and transgressions that are known beforehand by an agent to be transgressions and are consequently intentional violations of conscience and of recognized ethical sanctions. In reply to the objection that this restriction is sometimes out of harmony with Christian experience, i.e., with alleged deliverances of the Christian consciousness, I argued that such deliverances often have the appearance of expressions of immediate moral intuitions, beyond which it is impossible to go, whereas in reality they embody complex processes of thought involving false

[1] To this division between the earlier history of Palestine and the growth of the Old Testament into its present form I have already alluded in the *English Hist. Review*, 1908, p. 326 seq., and *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1908, p. 629 seq. It is not necessary at this stage to notice its bearing upon the criticism of the pre-Deut. literature or upon the date of Deuteronomy itself (see *J.Q.R.*, 1907, July, pp. 815–818, Oct., pp. 158–164); but it will perhaps justify the negative conclusions which I reached independently in *Critical Notes on O. T. History*. In general, it seems probable that a consideration of the situation in Palestine, during these prolonged political vicissitudes in the north and south, will explain the difference between the actual conditions revealed in the Old Testament account of the earlier history and those which external evidence has led scholars to anticipate, if not to reconstruct.

theories of accountability and consequently fallacious inferences.

I would now further contend that, unless we adopt and abide by this restriction, we shall inevitably commit ourselves to the usage of a distinctively ethical term, a term which is certainly intended to evoke ethical valuation from us, in a sense in which it becomes wholly evacuated of ethical significance : a course which will not commend itself to us as one to follow with our eyes open. We shall in the first instance find ourselves placing under the category of sin human conduct which either *could not* have been other than it was, or at least *knew no moral reason* why it should have been other than it was. And this involves unconscious adoption of the assumption, seen to be absurd as soon as it is explicitly enunciated, that the moral law reigns over non-moral agents.

There is a sense in which we can truly make the general statement " man is a moral being." We mean thereby that all normal human beings become moral ; that they all are from the first potentially moral, and may actually develop into beings possessing some degree of moral consciousness and knowing moral sanctions of some sort however crude and rudimentary. But we shall, I think, also unanimously agree that the savage, though recognizing some kind of ethical standard, is, relatively to such moral sanctions as are through no fault of his own unknown and even unknowable to him, on the plane of non-morality, just as completely as are the animals beneath him. The child of good Christian parents is also in similar case with regard to the ethical code by which those parents endeavour to guide their lives. If, then, either the child or the savage, in such conditions, is to be held in any degree sinful for the transgression of unknown and as yet unknowable ethical laws, it follows that the moral law is taken to apply to beings that

are non-moral relatively to such laws. But, further, it then becomes purely arbitrary to limit the dominion of moral law to mankind. For, as I have just remarked, the infant in relation to any moral law at all, and the primitive or savage man of necessarily crude and fragmentary moral conceptions, in relation to the higher requirements of ethical law that are as yet foreign to his conscience, are on precisely the same footing as the lower animals with regard to those requirements. Thus the cat's play with a captured mouse, because it falls short of the absolute standard of conduct, must be called sinful; cruelty must in a literal, in a strictly scientific, and no merely figurative sense, be attributed to the cat, if greed is to be imputed to the infant. And why stop even here? If possession of conscience and knowledge of a restraining law be no longer the endowment which solely renders an agent liable to ethical condemnation, why should sentiency or organic life be the condition for accountability and guiltiness? The avalanche which falls from a cliff and causes death and devastation below must, on such a definition of sin, be pronounced sinful. If sin is ever to be imputed where there is no law, there is indeed no logical halting-place, in the organic or in the inorganic world, at which we may cease to impute sin.[1] Although, then, two alternatives were theoretically open to us at the outset, and we were at liberty, as concept-framers, to adopt either the subjective or the objective sense of "transgression" and "law" by which to determine our definition of sin, we have now come to see that one of these alternatives consistently adhered to, leads us to a position in which we can scarcely desire to remain, and that it commits us to a definition which, to say the least, serves no useful purpose. One road being proved blind, we are constrained to take the

[1] I here almost reproduce a passage from the preface to the second edition of my Hulsean Lectures.

other ; and we may now therefore substitute for our first provisional and ambiguous proposition " sin is transgression of law," the rather fuller definition, " sin is the transgression of ethical law by an agent who is a moral subject relatively to the particular moral sanction transgressed." The phrase " moral relatively to a particular sanction " is, I fear, awkward ; it is difficult to state at once concisely and completely the qualification it is intended to introduce. But the meaning of the phrase will, I hope, be clear in the light of the reasoning by which we have been led to adopt it. It maintains that a being must be conscious of so much of the content of the moral law as is relevant to the particular act of his, the moral value of which is in question. I may add by way of further elucidation of its apparent obscurity that two acts, in all respects identical, performed one, we will say, the day before, and one the day after, the recognition by their doer that a moral sanction is thereby transgressed, differ, for one who adopts the objective view of sin, not at all or only in degree ; while from the standpoint I have been endeavouring to justify they are absolutely different in kind. The one, in fact, comes no more under ethical categories than does a destructive landslip ; the other is distinctly and definitely a sin, however crude and elementary the moral sanction that is consciously and intentionally transgressed.

So far I have laboured to establish as one positive, and at the same time exclusive, element in the concept of sin that the sinful is strictly correlative with the guilty ; that sin is something for which the subject is accountable or responsible ; that a transgression of absolute or objective law is only a sin when it is at the same time a violation of what the subject has had the opportunity to know to be a moral sanction binding his own conscience and will. And I have dwelt at length upon these points because they are of fundamental importance and are indeed determinative of

our whole doctrine of sin. I may now point out one consequence which follows from the result thus reached, before proceeding to further construction.

It is sometimes represented that inasmuch as man's moral life is a development, it necessarily involves sin. Now any theory which identifies sin with imperfection, any theory which regards sin as a falling short, as a missing of the mark rather than as an avoiding of the mark, would, I think, find it impossible to refute this statement. But the concept of sin I have been commending, as the only consistent one possible, not only saves us from being committed to such a view but compels us to repudiate it. Development, or the gradual passage from a lower ever to a higher level of moral insight, indeed, necessarily involves imperfection in moral capacity—imperfection in some degree at every stage until the ideal is finally reached. But in our view imperfection is not sin. All sin is imperfection, but not all imperfection is sin. There is guilty imperfection and there is innocent imperfection. And in attempting so far to construct a positive definition of sin I have, as will have been observed, been concerned throughout to discriminate between these two types and to show how, from an ethical standpoint, they fall poles apart. Guilty imperfection alone should be called sin, unless sin is to be a term not exclusively ethical; in which case it serves no purpose in theology. Perhaps the importance of the distinction becomes now the clearer to us; for the notion that sin is a necessary accompaniment to development is one which can never be assimilated by a Christian. We are told that our Lord increased not only in wisdom, but also in favour with God as well as man. Development at least in His case was sinless. And unless sinless development is theoretically possible to us finite spirits, I do not see that any doctrine of sin is open to us that is consistent with the Christian idea of God.

The position to which we have so far been led is identical with that expressed by St. Paul : " Sin is not imputed where there is no law " ; or again : " Where no law is there is no transgression." The objective law of God is of course none the less absolute or valid because stocks and stones can never know it or because man, who is essentially a developing being, only comes to know it gradually, his knowledge increasing from zero. But it is only relevant to beings who *can* know it, and only rules over these *to the extent that* they can know it. In so far as they fail to know it, through no fault of their own—of course there is such a thing as guilty ignorance though we can never define where it begins—there is no transgression, no guilt ; sin is not imputed.

And now another step in construction is demanded. I have emphasized the two factors that are required to produce sin—a moral law and consciousness of it by a moral subject. It remains to emphasize the further fact, hitherto only incidentally referred to, that sin is predicable only of activities of the *will* of the moral agent, and of the effects of those activities upon the will itself, which, as we have previously had occasion to observe, is partly of the nature of an effect as well as of the nature of a cause. And here again the endeavour to establish a positive element in the concept of sin will lack much of its pertinence and meaning unless we have an eye to current tendencies of thought which call for express repudiation. The meaning and value of almost any concept lies as much, perhaps, in its relation to what it is intended to exclude as in its positive content. This is particularly true of the concept of sin, especially as regarded in the light of the needs of the present time.

Christian divines of every age have agreed that moral evil, in that aspect which has been distinguished as actual sin, belongs exclusively to the psychical side of man. And allowing for vacillations temporarily caused by the pressure

of particular difficulties, we may, I think, further assert that the will has been regarded as the sole seat or source of sin. The foundation-stone of Kant's ethic, "Nothing can possibly be conceived in the world, or even out of it, which can be called good without qualification, except a good will," is unquestionably also the foundation-stone of Christian ethic. Apart from the conscious volition of a person, there is no such thing as moral goodness or badness. Sins are volitions, and only volitions can be sins. It is the intention of the will alone that constitutes any act good or bad. I am pleased to be able to cite, as in thorough agreement with this assertion, the following words of so typically orthodox a writer on this subject as Dr. Gore, from his article on Sin in *Lux Mundi*: "It is characteristic . . . of the non-Christian view that it makes the body, the material, the seat of sin. It is essential to the Christian view to find its rest and only source in the *will*." It would be easy to quote other modern authorities, such as Professor J. A. Dorner, to the same effect; but the multiplication of instances of whole-hearted acceptance by Christian theologians of this fundamental element in the doctrine of Sin would be superfluous. When it is a question of defining sin in its elementary and essential features, and remote consequences do not present themselves to our attention, we are, I believe, none of us inclined to hesitate before committing ourselves unreservedly to the concise and unequivocal statement of Bishop Gore. But when side issues come up for consideration, I find qualifying assertions to be frequently introduced by writers on sin, which I am unable to reconcile with the primary definition they have adopted. One very commonly finds sinfulness to be predicated, for instance, of our nature, our impulses, appetites and passions, and not exclusively of our volitional attitude to such things. This is a palpable inconsistency. And it is more than an error in logic and a violation of the principles

of concept-building. It seems to me to endanger the ethical significance of the Christian doctrine of Sin. It perilously approaches the conception of sin as physical and as unavoidable—a conception which is heathen or heretical. It encourages the excusing of sin in that it partly transfers sinfulness from its exclusive seat, the will, to psychological elements in our constitution which we certainly cannot help being there, or being what they are. Such language appears to play into the hands of non-Christian theories which we expressly desire to repudiate. It is true, of course, that the will does not work *in vacuo*, so to speak ; upon a human being that could feel neither pleasure nor pain no moral judgment whatever could be passed. But the necessary instincts, impulses, appetites and passions that exist in us before we are even volitional, and *a fortiori* before our will knows any moral restriction, though they are the material out of which the will chiefly makes sin—and of course virtue equally—are no more objects of moral valuation in themselves than material things such as alcohol or gunpowder. In isolation from the will itself, they are morally neutral and indifferent, as indeed our definition asserts everything except the will necessarily must be. Large problems here come in sight ; but we have in these articles no other concern than to construct a positive concept of actual sin and to justify the exclusion from it all such ideas, however closely cognate in some respects, as are irrelevant to it or inconsistent with it : irrelevant to its capacity to satisfy logical and ethical demands, and inconsistent with its incorporation into the body of distinctively Christian theology. Such a concept we have now obtained, and it may be thus defined : a sin is an activity of the will directed towards an end which falls short of the highest end knowable at the time to the subject of such a volition ; and "sin" is the generic name for all activities capable of being thus described *and*

for no others, as also for all inherent dispositions of the will in so far as they are brought about by such acts of sin *and not otherwise*.

From this positive statement of the nature of sin we may now proceed to observe some of the features of the doctrine to which it commits us.

Our concept of sin in the first place limits moral evil exclusively to the psychical, and so removes all danger of approach to theories which tend to reduce sin to something physical, to something residing in and essentially belonging to the material or the bodily. Views of this kind have been definitely propounded in ancient systems of heathen philosophy ; they lie, perhaps, at the root of the extremer forms of oriental asceticism ; and they have at no time been entirely eradicated from popular theological thought. But whenever the issue has been definitely raised, they have been repudiated by Christian theology. And indeed with reason. They are at once unethical and unchristian. We can make no compromise with them. Indeed, it is only the employment amongst us of figurative and anthropomorphic language in practical exhortation and rhetorical description which perpetuates any plausibility these views may continue to possess in the eyes of the multitude. We naturally " eject " our own activity into material objects and speak of them sometimes as " tempting " us, as if they persuaded or urged to sin as a person might do. We thus figuratively endow them with an ethical nature and may find ourselves speaking of such sources, or rather occasions, of temptation as sinful. It will be wise to eschew all such modes of speech. For though no thoughtful person, perhaps, would nowadays deliberately embrace the view that physical things can be morally evil, there is, nevertheless, a vague feeling, I believe, in many minds that something of evil attaches to things which the human will is especially apt to abuse ; a feeling

which occasionally finds expression, for instance, in the utterances of the less cautious of temperance-reformers.

Again, our concept of sin not only precludes the doctrine that any material things are evil but also forbids us to look upon any psychical phenomena, other than volitions, as sinful. And in so doing it aids us to attain to a worthy view of human nature. It will not allow us to look down upon the pleasures of sense as in themselves degrading or inconsistent with holiness ; nor will it encourage the idea, which some good people in all ages have seemed to cherish, that we necessarily please God better the less we allow them place in our life. Sensuousness is not sensuality. That sensuous pleasure is a possibility is, as much as capacity for æsthetic or intellectual enjoyment, a thing for men to thank God for ; and disparagement of the gift is dishonouring to the Giver. *Nihil humanum alienum a me puto* expresses a healthy Christian sentiment.

It will then be a positive and practical gain from our search for an unalloyed concept of sin if we are thereby encouraged to dare to vindicate the rights of sense and sensuous pleasure as an element in human nature as God made it. And the same may be said with regard to our natural instincts—such few as we possess—our inborn appetites and passions. Our definition of sin absolutely forbids us to take blame to ourselves for possessing these or for susceptibility to their influences. However our race, or we individual members of the race, came to possess them is a question entirely irrelevant to Christian ethics ; all that this requires of us is to recognize the indisputable fact that we are not responsible either for their presence or their original intensity, and that therefore they are no more to be called sinful than the flesh of our bodies. These elements in us are the material out of which, indeed, virtue and vice may equally be made ; and the will which makes the one or the

other is alone the subject of ethical evaluation. Our doctrine of Sin, then, will not allow us to speak seriously of sinful appetites, base-born passions or evil impulses.

The non-restraint of impulses, the voluntary abuse of passion, and the excessive indulgence of appetite alone are sinful, just because volitions or the volitional attitudes we adopt towards our natural and non-moral propensities are alone matter for ethical appreciation. "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth the man"—not the material of sin, the *fomes peccati*, whatever its nature; but the thoughts which proceed out of the heart—the issues of volition—"they defile the man." From this it follows that sin is not a necessity of our nature. Man's natural endowments do not make sin inevitable to him. The faculty of will, not to speak of a will morally enlightened by conscience from within and knowledge of moral sanctions from without, is not inborn, so psychologists tell us; and since these factors are essential to the constitution of sinfulness, there is no question of a sinful nature in the strict sense of the term nature. We have already had occasion to dwell on the fact that sin, as distinguished from imperfection which it outwardly resembles while inwardly differing from it in a very vital sense, is not implied in any process of moral development. And from these two consequences combined we draw the inference that sin is entirely traceable to human volition and to that alone, and never mediately back to God, the author of the course of development and the cause of all in the world that is not caused by our independent finite wills. It is something that our doctrine of Sin is compatible with the Christian conception of God as all-holy; while any theory of sin which makes moral evil predicable of anything other than human volition—whether material or psychical—inevitably conflicts, sooner or later, with ethical theism.

It is another advantage of a definition of sin which sees sinfulness only in volitions that it leads to a doctrine of Sin that may be characterized as " inward." It shifts attention from the external act or outward expression to the inward intention. It encourages searching of the heart, sifting of motive. It condemns as sinful, in accordance with the express teaching of our Lord, not only the deed of violence but the smouldering hate ; not only the immoral act but the secret cherishing of lawless desire. If volition is the sole source of sin, it is intention which gives the ethical character to volition. At the same time our restriction of the category of sin to intentions of the will strikes at all unreality, false humility, mistaken self-humiliation and superfluous self-judgment, such as morbid consciences are wont to indulge in to their own hurt. It draws a sharp line of demarcation between temptation and sin—things which sensitive minds are apt to confound. It is not the things that enter in—not the impulses, desires and unbidden thoughts that well up from the depths of our personality or are suggested from without—that defile ; but the voluntary dallying with temptation, the lingering enjoyment of its pleasantness while abstaining from the outward deed to which it solicits, that are the beginnings of real sin. To banish the intrusive suggestion, to suppress the forbidden desire, involves indeed the facing of temptation, but avoids the commission of sin. It has been traditionally taught that " sin is first by suggestion, then by delight, and then by consent." This is true ; but the first two, or at least the first, of these stages belongs rather to temptation than to sin. St. James gives us a more accurate psychological statement when he declares that " every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed." It is not until this " lust hath conceived " that " it bringeth forth sin." It may be difficult—nay, impossible sometimes—for us precisely to fix

the point at which temptation gives place to sin in us : but nevertheless, " 'Tis one thing to be tempted . . . another thing to sin." Sensitive minds are apt to take blame to themselves when they detect within their stream of consciousness thoughts, impulses and desires which it would be wrong to yield to ; as if the mere presence of these unbidden guests defiled them. This a true doctrine of Sin denies. It thus, like the prophet of old, brands as " lies " a whole class of ideas that " have made the heart of the righteous sad whom " God has " not made sad." And in so doing it promises aid to healthy spiritual life by condemning morbid forms of self-examination.

Once again, our concept of sin insists more strongly than any more comprehensive concept can, upon the responsibility of the sinner for his sin. And this is the most important implicate of all. Our definition unconditionally declares that to every sin is attached some degree of guilt, and it refuses to shift one whit of that responsibility to the sinner's environment or his natural endowments or the conditions of his development. It thus sets its face resolutely against the sentimentality which so prevalently accompanies our modern humanitarianism. It declares that volition—and nothing else—is sinful ; and conversely it maintains that immoral volition is sin—and nothing else ; not disease or inherited infirmity or inevitable effect of environment or anything but condemnable and guilty transgression, that ought not to have been and might not have been. It condemns the nowadays much favoured dictum, " To know all is to condone all " as a profoundly un-Christian and immoral exaggeration. To know all was, for Jesus Christ, to recoil with abhorrence from much, and to scourge with scathing words. It is true that difference of circumstances and of opportunity is to be taken account of in our endeavours, approximate at the best, to apportion degrees of

guiltiness; and it is equally true that while we hate the thing that is evil we should, like our Master, compassionate the evildoer. But still, when we have made every allowance that true charity suggests, and have pleaded every extenuating circumstance that knowledge can discover, there remains in nearly all the lawless conduct that occurs, at least in a country such as ours, an element which cannot be explained away and which it is simply wicked to ignore, viz., the fact of deliberate choosing of the worse when a better is both known and possible; and this is to be called by no other name than sin. Here at least is something inexcusable, something vile and hateful; and it is neither charitable nor compassionate to speak of it in language less severe.

That the sense of the sinfulness of sin is relaxed in many sections of society to-day is a common matter of complaint. The causes for this relaxation are diverse in different quarters. The doctrine of determinism, in the crude form in which the will is represented as wholly moved by motives much as a scale-pan is mechanically caused to descend by the heavier weight, after having found favour with popularizers of natural science, especially on the biological side, has filtered down to the literature of the secularist press and the democratic organs of so-called "free-thought." In such circles the dogma has become a received item of advanced knowledge, and is moulding public opinion, political as well as philosophical. Popular naturalistic ethics thus find no place for the conception of sin; and this negative doctrine forms part of the secularist propaganda. We may thus account for the spread of inadequate consciousness of sin amongst a limited portion of the community.

More generally this tendency is perhaps but a consequence of the decay of the sense of responsibility which has accompanied the increase, during our generation, of material wealth and comfort and freedom from restraint of various kinds, amongst

a large section of our population, and has developed an appetite for such things. Increased capacity to enjoy the goods of this world is, as history abundantly testifies, not the condition that conduces most strongly to the " making our moral being our prime care." Increased liberty easily passes into increased licence ; enlargement of opportunity for pleasure-seeking is apt to lead to diminution of attention to duty. Relaxation by law of certain responsibilities such as some of those of parents, increasing unwillingness to discriminate between the deserving and undeserving in our methods of social amelioration, preponderating attention on the part of reformers and legislators to the sinner's environment and his occasions for vice and corresponding relative neglect to enforce existing law intended to coerce the offender himself and to emphasize his untransferable responsibility—these and many similar tendencies, however beneficent in their intention, expedient in their practicability, and even fruitful of good in some of their results, have, nevertheless, this consequence inevitably attached to them, that they tend to diminish in the community the sense of individual responsibility which is so large an ingredient in the sense of sin.

In some sections of society, again, the sense of sin has been rendered inadequate or wanting in consequence of the adoption of an easy optimism that has been mistaken for a corollary of the scientific theory of evolution. Because science tells us that man became a moral being after he had perhaps long been a creature of instinct and impulse, appetite and passion, and that there was a time when he was " without law " and therefore innocently lawless, it does not imply that sin is only a name for the survival of inevitable and necessary appetites and habits. To account for the origin and universality of sin in terms of our knowledge of human development is neither to excuse evil nor to explain it away. If sin can be traced back so that we cannot see its continuity with

transgressions of human sanctions not recognized as laws of God, it loses nothing of its exceeding sinfulness for us, to whom it is none the less a deliberate grieving of the Holy Spirit. If moral sanctions are themselves evolved, and moral intuitions are derived, it is not thereby proved that they are invalid. Because the acquisition of a moral nature by mankind was actually accompanied by universal failure to satisfy ethical requirements, it does not follow that defection from the moral law was of the nature of a rise, or that it was, theoretically, a necessity. Finally, if evolution means development, we must remember that, biologically speaking, degeneration is as much development as is progress; and there is no reason whatever for supposing that sin is a phase of human conduct that purely natural or mechanically acting causes will, in course of time, abolish. Each of these suppositions has actually been declared to be an inference from the established doctrine of human evolution; and thereby, doubtless, has belief in the reality and the sinfulness of sin come to lose its hold upon individual minds.

Lastly, it is possible that the present decay of the sense of sin is due in part to the exaggerated and undiscriminating language in which the doctrine of Sin has sometimes been popularly expounded. Sin, as we have seen, has often been so defined as to include imperfection, to discredit sensibility and non-moral appetites in themselves, and to blur the line between mere temptations and sinful acquiescence. We may add that language applicable to sin in its most heinous forms, expressions, for instance, such as "rebellion against God," have been unguardedly applied to deviations from the perfect standard of life which hardly call for condemnation so extreme. From these tendencies even healthy minds may well recoil; it is not unnatural that impatient and unbalanced minds should have been driven by such exaggeration and unreality into hearty repudiation of truth along

with accompanying error. Such, perhaps, has actually been the case.

In a doctrine of Sin such as gathers round the carefully safe-guarded concept we have been endeavouring to define, there seems to me to lie the remedy for these manifold tendencies to take sin lightly. The rigorous and consistent restriction of sin to the volitional, and to the volitional only in so far as it is guilty, will not only save us from theological complications, dangerous compromises, and unreal exaggerations. It will also necessitate our resolute insistence, in the face of the efflorescence of sentimentality which is one of the characteristics of our generation, upon the inalienable responsibility of the sinner, whatever be his environment, for his evil deeds; for it emphasizes that this is the kernel of the whole matter, the maximum and the minimum of positive content in the Christian concept of sin.

F. R. Tennant.

STUDIES IN THE PAULINE THEOLOGY.

VIII. The Victory over Death.

(1) The Christian salvation for Paul included not only the removal of the *guilt of sin* by God's forgiveness, the destruction of the *power of sin* by Christ dwelling and working in the believer by His Spirit, the abolition of the *authority of the law* over the man living in the Spirit; but also *the victory over death*. It is usual to deal with Paul's eschatology as the last section of his doctrinal system; but the point of view of these Studies is different from that of the exponent of the Pauline theology as a system. Starting from the centre of Paul's personal experience, we are seeking gradually to move outward to the circumference of his thought; and even although in this Study for the sake of completeness of treatment it may be necessary to refer to matters which

do lie near the circumference, yet we should quite mistake Paul's standpoint if we thought that questions of the hereafter, about which many Christians to-day seem to be altogether indifferent, were so regarded by him. That Christ delivered from death, having Himself conquered death, was not for Paul a secondary opinion, it was a primary conviction. He clothed that conviction in the traditional eschatological language, much of which has now lost its significance ; but surely the faith of Paul in the Christian's victory over death has an abiding interest.

(2) In dealing with Paul's personal experience it was pointed out that at times, if not always, the shrinking from death was very strongly felt by him ; especially unwelcome to him was the thought of the spirit's disembodiment. Hence for him the Christian hope was not of immortality only, but of resurrection, the restoration of the complete personality. " For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For verily in this we groan, longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is in heaven ; if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For indeed we that are in the tabernacle do groan, being burdened ; not for that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life " (2 Cor. v. 1–4). He inherited and retained the Jewish conception of death as helpless, cheerless, hopeless existence in Sheol ; and the hope which some of the Hebrew saints reached of a blessed immortality in fellowship with God had for him its fulfilment only in Christ. Death so conceived he regarded as the penalty of sin, the punishment of Adam's disobedience, which the race shares even as his sin, " Through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin ; and so death passed unto all men, for that all sinned " (Rom. v. 12).

In the *Third Study* all has been said which need be said in regard to Paul's view of the connexion of sin and death as physical dissolution, and the entrance of both through Adam. Only one point may be more fully explained. The impression which the passage makes is that God attached death as a penalty to sin, and that the connexion depends altogether on the will of God. Paul comes nearer our modes of thinking in two other passages. In Romans vi. 15–23, when he sums up his argument in the declaration, "The wages of sin is death; but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord," he suggests the connexion of antecedent and consequent; by its nature and operation in man sin inevitably results in death. The end of uncleanness and iniquity is, and cannot but be, death. The same inevitable relation is suggested in Galatians vi. 7, 8, "Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatever a man soweth that shall he also reap. For he that soweth unto his own flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth unto the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life eternal." The figures of speech used do represent the connexion as one which from our modern standpoint we should call *natural*, although Paul as a Jew does lay stress on the divine will as the cause. If we look closely at the description of the effect of sin in the individual man in the division and disturbance of his personality as it is represented in Romans vii. 7–25, it will appear at least probable that for Paul also in the nature of sin itself lay the explanation why it should be followed by death. Death for Paul was not merely physical dissolution; it involved man's moral character and his communion with God. Its very core was separation from God's grace and exposure to God's judgment.

(3) The deliverance from death which Paul hoped for was by resurrection, that is, by restoration of the whole per-

sonality, body, soul and spirit. He held the Hebrew view of man as living soul because God has breathed the spirit of life into the form fashioned out of dust ; and not the Greek view of the soul as imprisoned in the body ; and, therefore, for him the survival of the soul alone released from the body would not have been a satisfying hope. There are two questions which arise in regard to the resurrection, its *date* and—dependent on this—its *nature*. The Second Coming of Christ would be followed by the resurrection of the dead. The apostolic Church lived in the confident and intense expectation of a speedy return of the Lord in power and glory ; and Paul seems to have shared that hope. He is himself looking for the Lord's appearing. He had taught his converts to hold themselves in readiness for that great event, " Yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night " (1 Thess. v. 2). So expectant was the first generation of believers of surviving till the Lord came that it was a distressing problem to some of the Thessalonian converts when some of their number died, and so seemed to be robbed of the fulfilment of their hope. Paul assures the mourners that as soon as " the Lord shall descend from heaven, the dead in Christ shall rise first " ; and thus will not be at any disadvantage in comparison with the survivors at that day (iv. 15–17). Among these survivors he reckons himself. " We that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord . . . shall together with them be caught up in the clouds." At a later date he had still this hope : " We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed " (1 Cor. xv. 51, 52). It is not necessary by forced interpretations to prove Paul incapable of making a mistake in this respect. His authority as an apostle did not include infallibility as regards the date either of the Parousia or of his own death. Even in the letters written during his Roman captivity, although the

dominant mood has changed, yet the old phraseology reappears. "When Christ, who is our life, shall be manifested, then shall ye also with Him be manifested in glory" (Col. iii. 4). "The Lord is at hand" (Phil. iv. 5).

(4) This confident expectation of a speedy advent of Christ, and his own survival was, however, modified in two ways. On the one hand he recognized a historical process which must run its course before the Parousia; and on the other he realized that he himself was not likely to live so long. According to the "Pauline Apocalypse" in 2 Thessalonians ii. 1–12 the Jewish "apostasy," the opposition of Judaism to the Christian Church, though now restrained by the Roman power, which in Paul's personal experience was offering protection from Jewish persecution, would at last culminate in "the man of sin, the son of perdition" probably a false Messiah, for the destruction of whom the true Messiah would in the end appear. This is a bit of speculation on the line of the Jewish apocalypses, which has only a historical interest for us now, but no authority as part of Paul's witness to Christ. That at the time the Jewish opposition to Christianity was its most formidable hindrance, and that the Roman tolerance was its most valuable help was a true reading of facts. What is distinctively Christian in this Pauline apocalypse is the conviction that Christ will at last triumph over all foes. As to the hope of the Parousia we may hold either that in the fall of Jerusalem the apostasy of Judaism in refusing its Messiah was judged, and so His claim was historically vindicated; or that the historical process Paul recognized has necessarily lasted very much longer than he, limited by the horizon of his own age, could possibly anticipate, and that the coming of Christ in power and glory still lies in the future, and will in its historical conditions transcend the apostolic expectations as did Jesus' Messiahship the

prophetic predictions. That the cause of Christ will at last triumph in the world is surely a permanent Christian conviction, but *when* or *how* each age will have its own conjectures; and the conjecture of the Apostolic Age has no permanent authority for the Christian Church.

(5) Paul's hope of the Parousia was qualified also by the growing conviction of his later years that he would not live long enough to see that day. Yet he looked forward to death itself with hope. The passage we have already quoted from 2 Corinthians v. 1–4 shows his shrinking from a disembodied state, and his desire for the full restoration of his personality. Whether he expected this immediately after death, if he died before the Parousia, or anticipated an intermediate state between his death and the general resurrection at the Parousia his words here do not clearly indicate, and we may reserve the question for subsequent discussion. What is noteworthy is that even in anticipation of death his faith inspired hope: "Being therefore always of good courage, and knowing that, whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord (for we walk by faith, not by sight): we are of good courage, I say, and are willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be at home with the Lord" (2 Cor. v. 6–8). The Hebrew saint feared that his communion with Jehovah would be interrupted in death; but Paul, whatever he may have thought of the intermediate state, was sure of closer and fuller fellowship with Christ. In this mood death appears to him an advantage, to be desired. "To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. But if to live in the flesh,—if this is the fruit of my work, then what I shall choose I wot not. But I am in a strait betwixt the two, having the desire to depart and be with Christ; for it is very far better; yet to abide in the flesh is more needful for your sake" (Phil. i. 21–24). For our present purpose it is not necessary to

discuss the varying interpretations of verse 22 (R.V. margin, "*But if to live in the flesh* be my lot, *this is the fruit of my works, and what I shall choose, I wot not*, or *What shall I choose? I do not make known*) as the main thought is quite clear. Paul would prefer to die to gain the fuller life in Christ, but he is willing to remain on earth for the sake of his converts.

(6) From the *date* we can pass to the *nature* of the Resurrection. In the classical passage on the subject in 1 Corinthians xv. Paul distinguishes those who will be alive then from those who have previously died. When Christ comes, the dead will be raised up; but it is a sheer perversion of Paul's teaching to assert that they will be raised up with the same bodies, identical, as some theologians have argued, even as to their constituent atoms. For Paul expressly distinguishes the natural from the spiritual body in a series of striking contrasts. "It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a natural (psychic) body; it is raised a spiritual body" (*vv.* 42–44). Adam as living soul is type of the one body, Christ as the lifegiving spirit is the type of the other (*v.* 45). The two bodies are related as the seed and the grain which springs from it. By what process the continuity is maintained, and yet the transformation effected, Paul expressly refuses to say, but ascribes the mystery to the divine power. "God giveth it a body even as it pleased Him, and to each seed a body of its own" (*v.* 38). It is not a body of flesh and blood, for these cannot inherit the kingdom of God (*v.* 50). To suggest, as has been done, that the identity is secured by the bony skeleton is to show a stupidity which disqualifies for any opinion on this theme. Even those who are living will need to undergo the change. "We shall all be changed, in a moment, in

the twinkling of an eye " (*v.* 52). A gradual process in the one case, an instantaneous act in the other, is asserted. It need hardly be said that here we are quite out of the region of Christian experience, and have soared into the realm of theological speculation. That personal identity is preserved in death, that there is a continuity of moral character and religious disposition in this and the future life, that its conditions shall allow of the fullest and freest exercise and development of the whole personality, that some organ for the expression and activity of the self may with some probability be expected, and that for the Christian life Christ will be hereafter as He is here, the mediator of the life of God—these are expectations which may be reasonably grounded in the Christian faith. That this passage in 1 Corinthians is to be taken as literal prediction, history written beforehand, is a view which cannot be maintained. As the Hebrew prophet's declarations fell far short of their fulfilment in Christ, so may we expect that the Christian apostle's expectations will be transcended. Paul spoke as a man to whom Jewish Apocalpyse was familiar, and he clothed his Christian aspirations for a blessed and glorious immortality in Christ in similar forms of thought. His certainty of victory over death in Christ we can share, however insuperable may be for us the difficulty of the conceptions of the Resurrection he here presents, that Jesus Himself conquered death we know from our own experience, even as Paul did, because we now live in Him, and that death cannot destroy this life in Him, but can only set it free from present limitations, we are sure, because this life of Christ in us now is the pledge and pattern of our life in Him hereafter.

(7) A question already mentioned, but left over for subsequent discussion must now be faced. What did Paul think of the condition of the dead, who had fallen asleep in Christ, prior to the resurrection ? His description of death

as a sleep in Christ (1 Thess. iv. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 6, 18–20) must not be pressed into the service of a theory of an unconscious or semi-conscious condition, of a depressed vitality until the awakening and vivifying of the Resurrection. When he has given up, if only temporarily, the expectation of survival to the Resurrection and is facing what seems imminent death, he looks for an immediate entrance into clearer vision of, and closer communion with Christ. In 2 Corinthians v. 6–8, a passage already quoted, absence from the body is being at home with the Lord; so in Philippians i. 23 to depart is to be with Christ. If this be so, then he may possibly have thought that the clearer vision and the closer communion would produce the greater resemblance. "As we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly" (1 Cor. xv. 49). "The Lord Jesus Christ shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of His glory, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto Himself" (Phil. iii. 21). Although these passages occur in a context in which the resurrection at Christ's Second Coming is being spoken of, yet surely if Paul had thought out the question, as he does not seem to have done, he would have attached the same expectation to this departing to be at home with Christ. Even in this earthly life the contemplation of Christ results in resemblance to Him. "We all with unveiled face reflecting as in a mirror (R.V. margin, beholding as in a mirror) the glory of the Lord are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit" (2 Cor. iii. 18). This present process of transformation by the Spirit in the contemplation of Christ is the promise of the final transformation. "Now he that wrought us for this very thing is God, who gave unto us the earnest of the Spirit" (v. 5). As the

body of the Resurrection is a spiritual body, and the Lord is the life-giving Spirit, it seems to be implicit in Paul's thought, although he never states it explicitly, that when the Christian at last is at home with Christ, He will bear His image of glory. Thus the Resurrection from being an event of the distant future would become the immediate present experience of him who falls asleep in Jesus. To the writer at least this appears a conception more distinctively and consistently Christian than that of a general resurrection in the distant future. Christians generally, who probably would repudiate the charge of doubting the New Testament teaching on this subject, nevertheless do assume that their loved ones have gone at death to the blessedness and glory of heaven, and do not think of them as in some intermediate state of less complete and satisfying life. Why should Christian theology not frankly acknowledge that even Paul had not in his thinking quite freed his Christian hope from Jewish "entanglements."

(8) May we not apply the same line of reasoning to Paul's expectation of the final judgment? "Wherefore also we make it our aim, whether at home or absent, to be well-pleasing unto Him. For we must all be made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ; that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad" (2 Cor. v. 9–10). "We shall all stand before the judgment-seat of God" (Rom. xiv. 10). In a very vivid picture of the burning of a house Paul presents this process of judgment; whatever is morally and religiously valuable (gold, silver, costly stones) is preserved; whatever is valueless (wood, hay, stubble) is consumed. In that judgment the soul itself may escape, but may lose all its work and its reward. "If any man's work shall abide which he built thereon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he

himself shall be saved ; yet so as through fire " (1 Cor. iii. 12–15.) This image, as well as that used in Galatians vi. 7, 8 of the seed and the harvest, suggests that the judgment of God is the inevitable consequence of the character and the disposition of a man. Probably Paul never quite set aside the picture of the law-court and the judge receiving evidence and pronouncing sentence ; but he himself does point us beyond this inadequate pictorial representation. The transformation of the believer into the likeness of Christ by the Spirit is God's judgment ; and it may be assumed to take effect at death ; for why should we suppose the continuity of moral and spiritual development to be arrested in an intermediate state ? God executes His judgment through Christ, for it is in the contemplation of, and communion with Christ that the believer develops his character, and determines his disposition towards God. So modified the expectation is not a relapse to legalism. It is the relation of faith to the grace of Christ which issues in the works which God thus approves. To be with Christ, and so like Christ, is heaven, and the measure of communion and resemblance is the measure of glory and blessedness. It is not maintained that Paul had thought out the problem to this solution, but only that he offers some suggestions of it. But it may be objected, is there then no kernel of Christian truth in the husk of the Jewish apocalyptic conceptions of a visible manifestation of the Messiah, of a physical resurrection of the dead, and of a final judgment of all men ? It seems to the writer that there is, and it is this. It is not a saying of Paul's which suggests it ; but one of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews : " God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect " (xi. 40). As the saints of the old covenant found the fulfilment of their hopes in the new covenant, so even those who fell asleep in Christ, and who now live in blessed-

ness and glory in Christ will be made perfect, will gain the full fruition of their wishes and their hopes when God's purpose in Christ is on earth wholly accomplished. The Church in heaven is interested in the Church on earth ; and will be perfectly triumphant only when the Church Militant has gained its final victory.

(9) One problem remains before this discussion can be brought to a close, and that is the saddest which can engage Christian thought. Does this Christian hope embrace all men ? While in his argument regarding the Resurrection Paul is concerned only with believers, and their resurrection in incorruption, glory, power, is represented as the result of their union with Christ the life-giving Spirit, yet he seems to have believed that the wicked, too, would be raised. In the Epistles there is no definite statement to this effect, but in Acts xxiv. 15 Luke represents him as declaring " that there shall be a resurrection both of the just and the unjust." It is, of course, possible that Paul did not use these very words, and that the idea may have been suggested to Luke by Daniel xii. 2, " And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." But Paul does assume a universal judgment. " Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world ? " (1 Cor. vi. 2). " When we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we may not be condemned with the world " (xi. 32). According to his mode of thinking in regard to the righteous, resurrection from the dead must be assumed as preceding the judgment of the wicked. It is then probable that he thought of all men being raised to be judged ; but whether divine power acting punitively raises them as the redemptive power of God raises the righteous he does not state. This is a subject involved in obscurity, and the Christian hope does not require that we should have any certainty regarding it.

If he that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption, we might rather expect that there would be no resurrection of the wicked, but that they would remain under the power of death. That God should restore to fuller vitality in the resurrection the wicked only that they might suffer the more the penalty of sin is for Christian love an intolerable thought. If Paul did affirm the resurrection of the wicked for judgment, we need not follow him in this opinion; for it is not bound up with the hope our faith in Christ inspires, and lays a burden on Christian love grievous to be borne. But is this Paul's last word on the matter?

(10) Some scholars maintain that Paul held "the larger hope" of Universalism. He does affirm after the Parousia, the resurrection, and the judgment, the absolute triumph of the Mediatorial Kingdom of Christ. "Then cometh the end, when He shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when He shall have abolished all rule and all authority and all power." . . . "And when all things have been subjected unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subjected to Him that did subject all things unto Him, that God may be all in all" (1 Cor. xv. 24–28). Is this dominion to be understood as involving the salvation of all men, or only the suppression of their opposition? The former alternative is suggested by Colossians i. 19–20, "For it was the good pleasure of the Father that in Him should all the fulness dwell; and through Him to reconcile all things unto Himself, having made peace through the blood of His cross; through Him, I say, whether things upon the earth, or things in the heaven." An universal adoration and confession of Christ is affirmed in Philippians ii. 10–11. "That in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God

the Father." If these utterances are to be taken literally, we have in them Paul's boldest speculation and most generous aspiration, and the Christian mind and heart can but wish that they expressed a certainty. There are, however, difficulties. How without voluntary acceptance of the divine reconciliation, and vital oneness with the Christ as life-giving Spirit, can we conceive all to be saved? And what incontestable evidence is there that sin's resistance and refusal of grace shall finally in every case be overcome? So long as man's relation to God is conceived as one of faith in grace, as freely accepted as it is freely offered, not even an apostle's foresight can give us assurance that all men shall be saved because all men will believe. But it is very doubtful whether this question to which we seek an answer was in Paul's thoughts at all. He was concerned about God's glory in Christ in a universal reconciliation, a universal submission, a universal dominion, and inquired not too curiously, whether this necessarily involved that every man should be saved. We must return to this subject in the next Study, when dealing with Paul's interpretation of *The Purpose of God.*

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

BABYLON AT THE TIME OF THE EXILE.

WE may pass over Herodotus' information with scepticism, but it is to be deplored that no better information exists concerning the sacred chambers on the stage towers of Babylonia. The conjecture has often been made that the Babylonians used these rooms for astronomical observations. The only passage in the inscriptions referring to them is the following: "A sacred chamber, a construction of skill, with burnt brick and pure lapis lazuli upon their tops, I constructed with elegance." [1] These peculiar con-

[1] Neb. 14, I: 42 ff. The description refers to the stage towers of Babylon and Barsippa.

structions, which the Sumerians and Semites regarded as miniature reproductions of the universe, formed the absolutely indispensable part of every sacred temple area.

Of the city wall only a few sections have been uncovered at K [plan A] along the edge of the ruins called Ahamer. Yet enough has been exposed to enable us to gain a clear idea of its general construction. Naturally the original height cannot be determined. Imgur-Bel has in this section a uniform thickness of 22 feet with projecting buttresses or towers every 54 feet. The towers project 9 feet on the outer line, but much less on the inner line of the wall. Their length is 28 feet. Nimitti-Bel ran parallel to and outside Imgur-Bel. The reports of the Expedition do not state the distance separating these walls, but it cannot be great. It seems to have been much less strong and without towers.

The part of Babylon which must have impressed the visitor more than any other was the section in and about the Ištar gate.[1] This huge double gate, dedicated to the goddess of war and called "Ištar, smiter of her adversaries," stood at the northeast corner of the old palace. The following descriptions of it are taken from the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar:

"The Ištar gate with [glazed] brick for Marduk my lord I made. Colossal bronze bulls and ferocious serpent dragons I placed in its threshold."

"The causeways of the gates of Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel were too low because of the grading of the street of Babylon.[2] I tore down

[1] Designs and a picture of a section of the wall of the Ištar gate in MDOG, No. 19. The picture shows one of the fabulous bulls designed in glazed bricks.

[2] The king means that the streets had been raised, so that the causeways of the eight city gates were lower than the streets. In fact, the German excavators found bas-relief figures of bulls on the walls of the Ištar gate below the level of Nebuchadnezzar's street pavement. The causeway and street Aiburšabum must have been raised several feet in the two millenniums from Sargon of Agade to Nebuchadnezzar.

the gates and upon the water-level I laid their foundations with mortar and brick. With glazed burnt brick and lapis lazuli on which bulls and serpents were engraved I made them skilfully. Great cedars for their roof I framed. Valves of cedar with plating of brass, thresholds and posts with bronze work I fitted into her gates. Bronze bulls and terrible serpent-headed monsters I placed on the thresholds. Those great gates I filled with magnificent things for men to behold."

Not only did the visitor in passing up the street Aiburšabum from the gate *Babu-ellu* meet the dazzling walls and towering turrets of the Ištar gate, but he saw the high walls of the palace on the right and the city wall on the left covered with symmetrical designs of inlaid coloured brick. The walls on each side of the street south of the Ištar gate presented the same imposing display of art and luxury. The two first Neo-Babylonian kings paved the street Aiburšabum [1] from the temple [Z] to the gate Babu-ellu [2] with a course of large limestone slabs in the central roadway and dark red breccia slabs on each side. Most of these pavement slabs bore the following inscription cut upon the ends and sides :—

"Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, am I. Of the streets of Babylon for the procession of the great lord Marduk with slabs of lime stone,[3] I built the causeway. Oh, Marduk, my lord, grant eternal life."

The Berlin topographical tablet concerning Babylon enumerates eight city gates, and a tablet in the British Museum likewise gives a list of eight.[4] The Berlin text gives the name of each gate and the god to whom it was dedicated, but the London tablet gives the name of the

[1] The name means, "The conqueror shall not prevail."

[2] "The shining gate."

[3] The inscriptions on the red breccia slabs have, of course, *breccia*, not *limestone*.

[4] The Berlin tablet is published by Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, 142; the London tablet K 3,089 by Pinches in PSBA 1900, 360. Frank collated K 3,089 for Weisbach, whose discussion of the subject may be found in his *Wadi Brisa* 40–41. The texts are also discussed by Hommel, *Geographie*, 323 ff. and 399 f.

street which passed through each gate and the god to whom the gate was dedicated. I give here both texts as I have restored them with the aid of Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions :

THE BERLIN TEXT.

(Names of the Gates and the Gods to whom each was dedicated.)

1. The gate Inaḳibšunakar,[1] gate of Anu.
2. The gate Iziraršu,[2] gate of Ninib.[3]
3. The gate Še'ašuirimu, gate of *giššu*.[4]
4. The gate Ištaršakipattebiša, gate of Ištar.
5. The gate Enlilmuzinšu, gate of Enlil.
6. The gate Liburnadušu,[5] gate of Sin.
7. The gate Ramman-napištim-ummanāti-uṣur,[6] gate of Ramman.
8. The gate Šamaš-išid-ummanāti-kīn,[7] gate of Šamaš.

THE LONDON TEXT.

(Names of the Streets and the Gate of each.)

1. "Nebo, Judge of his people," the street of the gate of Anu [see plan A, B′-I).

2. "Zamama, confounder of his foes," the street of the gate of Ninib.

3. "Marduk, shepherd of his land," the street of the gate *giššu*.

4. "Ištar, protecting genius of her army," the street of the Ištar gate.

5. "Enlil, establisher of his kingdom," the street of the gate of Enlil.

6. "Sin, establisher of his kingdom," the street of the gate of Sin.

7. "Ramman, protect the life of my army," the street of the gate of Ramman.

8. "Šamaš protect the solidity of my army," the street of the gate of Šamaš.

[1] Neb. 19 A. VII, 47 *iḳḳibšu-nakar*. The name means, "The foe presses against it."

[2] The name means, "He wars against it."

[3] Ninib, written Zamama. Zamama was the Ninib of Kiš and his gate probably faced the city of Kiš, see plan A. Hommel, p. 324 n. 1, seems to have made the same necessary identification of Ninib and Zamama.

[4] *Giššu* restored by Weisbach after Neo-Babylonian contracts. The name and meaning of this gate are uncertain.

[5] The name means, "May its founder be strong"; probably called the gate of the moon-god because it faced the city of Ur, sacred to Sin, the moon-god.

[6] The name means, "Ramman protect the life of the armies."

[7] The name means, "Šamaš make secure the solidity of the armies."

North of the mound Amran, Z on plan A, are the ruins called *Ṣaḫan*, described by Weisbach as a huge excavation 300 feet square in the centre of which rises a square mass of brick work. Weisbach assumes this to be the site of the tower of Babylon, whose brick work the Arabs removed and used for their own buildings. It would be wholly unexpected to find the stage tower separated from the chapels, and Smith's description cited above evidently forbids our looking for the stage tower apart from the temple. I am at a loss to find a construction mentioned in the inscriptions which could be identified with these ruins. An inscription of Neriglissar describes a building constructed north of the temple for the sacred utensils in the following words :—

"As for the treasure house of Esagila, on the northern front, in which the priests place the holy vessels of Esagila, whose foundation a former king had laid, whose top he did not erect, which had caved in on the terrace, whose walls had weakened, whose fastenings were not secure, whose thresholds were not stable,—to perfect what had been constructed, to care for the sacred rituals, to render clean the freewill offerings unto the great lord Marduk, to perfect the regular offerings, to allow no disrespect or sin to be, I looked for the ancient foundation record, and having seen it, upon the ancient record I fixed its foundation. I raised its height, I heightened it mountain-like. Its thresholds I fixed. Into its gates I fitted the doors. A great surrounding wall of asphalt and burnt brick I caused to be put about it." [1]

It may not be rash to identify the ruins of Ṣaḫan with the building described in the above passage.

I have marked on plan A all the temples which have been definitely located by the Germans. Yet a very large number mentioned by Nebuchadnezzar and Nabuna'id cannot be found. The following list contains the names of these still unknown sites ; Enigpakalamasumma temple of Nebo in Hariru, a section of Babylon ; Egišširgal temple

[1] Neriglissar, No. 2.

of the moon-god; Esakudkalama temple of the sun-god; Enamhe temple of the thunder-god; two temples Esabad and Eharsagella to Gula. Naturally all the important gods had shrines in the great chapels of Esagila. Beside the chief temple there were then nine smaller temples located within the walls of Babylon.

Nabuna'id, the last king of Babylon, according to his own records paid little attention to the defences and shrines of Babylon, but spent all his energies upon other ancient Sumerian and Semitic cults. When Cyrus the Great invaded Babylonia in 538 the huge bulwarks sixty miles north of the city called by Xenophon the Median Wall, constructed at the beginning of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar from Opis to Sippar between the rivers, seems to have offered him no resistance. Neither did the huge walls and deep canals of the city itself prevent the prince regent Belshazzar from falling an easy prey to the Arian conqueror. The founders of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, father and son, had spared no energy to fortify the city and the land against their own allies the Medes, whose chieftain Astyages they had called upon to aid in storming Nineveh. But the Babylonians had invited a dangerous rival, and the massive feats of engineering which we have been describing are silent witnesses of the preparations for the last struggle. One would have expected the Babylonians to have made at least some use of their defences upon which they had spent their best resources, but they seem to have been in vain. The physical energy of this branch of the Semitic race was spent. The last king was a scholar, an archaeologist and a recluse. When the city fell he himself was loitering in a neighbouring town and his son, according to the legends of the Jews, was banqueting in the palace of his ancestors.

Of the extensive liturgical literature for the ceremonies of the temples and festivals of Babylonia I shall give here

the fragments of what has survived concerning the *zagmuk* or New Year's Feast.[1] If any class of literature and any phase of Babylonian life left a lasting impression upon the Hebrews, Persians, Arameans, Greeks and other peoples who helped to form the cosmopolitan civilization of Babylonia in the last centuries before our era, the liturgies and festivals were the most likely to do so. And of the festivals that of the New Year beginning the day after the spring equinox and lasting until the eleventh of the first month[2] overshadowed every other religious ceremony. From the days of Babylonian supremacy it seems to have been customary to bring the idols of all the important gods of Babylonia to the "Chamber of Fates," *Dulazag* in Babylon. On plan C, I have indicated by the letter N the location of the shrines of Nebo in Esagila. Here was the famous hall of assembly where, under the presidency of Nebo, who arrived in his ark from Barsippa, the gods fixed the destiny of the king and of the empire for the ensuing year. Nebo as god of wisdom naturally formed the central figure in the ceremony so far as it concerned the sacred congregation in Dulazag.[3] According to one inscription of Nebuchadnezzar the divine assembly for decreeing fates fell upon the eighth, and we shall see in a ritual published farther on that Nebo arrived in his ark on the sixth.

But in the feast of the *zagmuk* Marduk the patron deity of Babylon was the mythological character which gave the ceremony its primary importance. With the growth

[1] Called also the *akitu* or *isinnu*, "the festival" simply.

[2] Nisan.

[3] The word means "holy chamber"; the original chamber of fates was a cosmological conception which placed the hall of assembly of the gods somewhere beyond the eastern horizon in the great house called *Ubšukkina* or "region of assembly." Dulazag designated only a chamber in this house. The Bodleian Library possesses an ancient Sumerian hymn concerning the Dulazag, which must date from a period before the *zagmuk* was instituted in Babylon.

of Babylon the priests ascribed to Babylon's god the *rôle* of the warrior son of Zeus-Enlil, Ninib of Lagash. Ninib the warrior son, the incarnation of the vernal sun, who at the spring equinox triumphs over the demons of winter, enjoyed in the ancient Sumerian pantheon the honour of having reduced the universe to order; he represented the creative and active principle of the world after the idea of the champion son of the father-god had been evolved. In later Semitic times the theologians attributed this character to Marduk, and the Epic of Creation as we now have it actually introduces not Ninib, but Marduk, as the creator of mankind and of the world, the god who finally overthrew the dragon of chaos.

The astronomically-minded Babylonians saw in the returning spring sun every year a repetition of the titanic conflict before the Creation. The feast of the New Year became a pantomime of the fearful battle of the gods of light and darkness. It is in this astronomical and legendary spirit that the Babylonian approached the mysteries of the *zagmuk* with profound respect. The Epic of Creation was here reacted, the drama again unrolled before his eyes.

Only parts of two tablets of this very long liturgy have been found. The tablets bear the numbers, the twenty-second and twenty-third of the series, and concern the second, third and fourth days. We are quite left to conjecture what may have been the contents of the preceding twenty-one tablets. The ceremony proper began apparently on the second of Nisan.[1] The long ritual which has been lost must have begun in the preceding month. In fact, certain texts recently published by Mr. King refer to the chariot of Bel which did not go out from the third of

[1] Compare a tablet published by Ungnad in the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, vi. No. 11, where the king sacrifices on the 2nd, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th days of Nisan.

Adar until Nisan.[1] The celebration of the New Year and the pantomime of creation probably began early in the month of Adar, in other words, this season of joy was preceded by a season of preparation corresponding to the Christian Lent, and it may not be too rash to surmise a connexion between the great eastern and western ceremonies. It has already been made quite evident that the colours used in the liturgies and ceremonies of the Christian Church go back to Babylonia.[2]

On the eighth day Marduk must have been carried in his ark from *Ekua* to meet Nebo in the *Dulazaga*.[3] After this began the chief event of the festival, the procession of Marduk and the gods, each in his ark, from the chamber of assembly where the fates had been decreed, along the street *Aiburšabum*[4] northward through the Ištar gate[5] to a point on the canal where each embarked and journeyed by water to the temple of sacrifices. The short journey by water had a symbolical meaning, which must be connected with the origin of the arks themselves. So far as I know no one has explained why a boat or an ark should be the carriage of the gods. The idea in Babylonia goes back to the most primitive Sumerian period, and may be connected with a legend concerning the life of the gods before chaos and the floods were made into an orderly universe.

We fortunately have a good description of the boats of Marduk and Nebo, one of which I translate here : "As for the bark *Rukub-ku-a* the boat, his carriage, its ends before and aft, its equipment, its masts, its sides, the lions and serpent-headed beasts, I arrayed in brilliant metal.

[1] See King, *Chronicles Concerning Babylonian Kings*, vol. i. 196 and 230.
[2] Schrank, *Babylonische Sühnriten.*
[3] See plan C letters M and N.
[4] Often called "street of the procession of Marduk."
[5] See plan A letter c.

With jewels I adorned it, and upon the floods of the clear Euphrates like the stars I made radiant its splendour,[1] and for all men to behold I filled it with riches. At the *zagmuk*, on New Year's Day, Marduk lord of the gods in it I caused to sit, and to the feast I caused him to go in procession. In the shining *Rukub-ku* bark Marduk I adorned. Along the quays, awe-inspiring he traverses the Arahtu Canal." [2]

A stone slab from the paving of the street closes with the following prayer: "Oh, Nebo and Marduk, when in these streets gladly ye go forth may my favour be upon your lips, life unto distant days, health of body and peace. As I walk in them before you may I grow old unto eternity."[3] It is known from an inscription of Nabuna'id that the gods attended the sacrifices on the tenth. The procession may have occurred on the ninth. The return procession and the entry of Marduk into Esagila took place on the last day. Probably all the visiting gods returned to their shrines in Esagila for the final songs, rituals and ceremonials of the eleventh. We know at any rate that this was the case with Nebo. We may conjecture that the various visiting gods returned to their temples in different parts of Babylonia soon after the festival.

Such in brief was the Babylon of the Exile. Much remains to be more thoroughly excavated, especially on the site of Esagila and the northern palace. The famous palace or temple library which must have contained the best collection of tablets in Cuneiform literature has not been found. It may have perished at the hands of vandal Persians, Greeks and Parthians, or it may still exist some-

[1] The description probably applies simply to the short transport on the canal mentioned above.

[2] Nebuchadnezzar 19 A V 17–39.

[3] Neb. No. 28, from a stone slab found upon a Parthian grave.

where in the ruins of the city. I now add the translation of the two tablets which contain the ritual and liturgies for the second, third and fourth days of Nisan,[1] and finally the liturgy sung when Marduk re-entered Esagila on the last day of the festival.

"In Nisan upon the second day,[2] in the first night watch, the high priest shall go up and wash himself with river water. Before Bel he shall enter and before Bel a linen robe he shall put on. Unto Bel he shall say this prayer":—

"Oh, lord, whose cry of wrath none can withstand,
Lord, gracious king, lord of all lands,
Thou that restorest peace in heaven and earth,[3]
Lord of holy water, lord of heaven, lord of the great gods,
Divine king of humanity, divine king of men's possessions,
Lord, whose sacred abode is Babylon, whose crown is Barsippa,
In the heavens thou art master, in the midst of the heavens thou art gigantic.[4]
Oh, Bel, with thine eyes thou seest all things.
When thou grantest oracles thou considerest the oracles,
When thou bestowest thine attention thou givest counsel.
Thou didst not heed the mighty furies.
They that fought with thee thou didst bind with thy hands.
When thou didst behold them thou tookest compassion.[5]
Thou didst let them see the light, they meditated upon thy heroic strength.
Oh, divine lord of lands, light of the heaven spirits, thou that summonest the holy,
Who doth not meditate upon thine heroic strength?
Proclaimeth not thy majesty, celebrateth not thy lordship?
Oh, divine lord of lands, dweller in the house of ancient days, who taketh the hands of the downcast,

[1] Published Raw. iv. 40.

[2] That is the second day after the spring equinox. Edited by Hehn in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, v. 380.

[3] The passage refers to the conquest of the elements of chaos and disorder in the creation of the world.

[4] The preceding lines form the seven ancient Sumerian addresses, or "heroic lines" to Marduk.

[5] This description of the pardoning of the captured giants who attended Tiamat is wanting in the Epic of Creation. A text published by Pinches in PSBA, 1908, 80–82, refers apparently to the release and pardon of the captive gods. See also Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, vol. i. 508.

For thy city Babylon have compassion.
Unto Esagila, thy temple, turn thy face.
As for the sons of Babylon, thy protégés, create them properity."
(Rubric): When these utterances in (?) Esagila [have been said], then shall the high priest of the Holy of Holies[1] cause the heroic Marduk to be seen.[2]

Here follows a section of about eighteen lines which gave further directions for the festival of the second day, after which came a long prayer. Both of these sections have been almost completely destroyed. Likewise the sections for the third day have suffered mutilation. Of the hymn only a few words remain. The following ritualistic section began with a reference to "entering through doors," then after a considerable break are found these lines:[3]

"In the middle of the third morning watch he shall summon a metal worker. Jewels and gold from the treasury of Marduk he shall give him to make two images for the sixth day. A carpenter he shall call, and cedar and tamarisk he shall give him. A jeweller he shall summon, and gold he shall give him. From the third day until the sixth day, from the offerings made to Bel, to the metal worker the tail, to the jeweller the breast, to the carpenter the shoulder, to the weaver the rib. This, from the offerings made to Bel, shall be the portion for the high priest of the Holy of Holies the . . . To the skilled servants he shall . . ."

(Rubric): "As for these images, each shall have seven horns. One shall be of cedar, and one of tamarisk, whose covering shall be of gold upon which *dušu*-stones are mounted. The image, which holds in its left hand a ring and sceptre of cedar, lifts its right hand to Nebo. The other image holds a rod, and lifts its right hand to Nebo. They are clothed in a dark red robe. With a twig of the palm are they girt at the loins. Until the sixth day the images shall be exposed in the chapel of the god of Judgment;[4] he shall present them upon the table of the god of Judgment. Upon the sixth day when Nebo arrives in E-harsagtila[5] the bearer of the studded sword shall sever their heads. When they are brought before Nebo let them reverence him, and where they are brought let them lie."

[1] *Ekua*, the shrine and chapel of Marduk, see plan C, letter M.

[2] The text is not well preserved, but the lines seem to contain a direction for drawing back the curtain to expose the statue and sacred ark of Marduk.

[3] Col. iv. 1–27, edited by Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest*, 149 f.

[4] The sun-god.

[5] Sic! One expects Esagila.

(Library note): Twenty-second tablet of the series, "songs of joy," not finished.[1] The tablet which follows begins, "Upon the fourth day of Nisan."

Before passing to the next tablet it seems worth while to call attention to the remarkable similarity between the directions for making the images for the ritual of the New Year's festival and a passage from the unnamed prophet of the Exile, Isaiah xl. 19–20.[2] Since this author undoubtedly wrote somewhere in Babylonia, there is strong probability that his description of the making of idols reflects the influence of the passage just translated from the books of ritual for the Zagmuk.

"The image—a craftsman casteth it, and a goldsmith overlayeth it with gold and forgeth for it chains of silver. Every one helpeth his neighbour and saith to his fellow, Be strong. And the caster strengtheneth the goldsmith; he that smootheth with the hammer him that striketh the anvil; he saith of the soldering, It is good; and he strengtheneth it with nails that it may not totter."

The symbolic meaning of the two images whose heads are severed upon the sixth day when Nebo arrives from Barsippa must be sought in the Epic of Creation. The two images probably represent the demons who aided the dragon in her fight with Marduk. They are the captive gods of darkness, demons of the cold and wintry season, which ends with the equinox. The god of the vernal sun triumphs over winter, binds the demons of darkness and delivers them unto judgment. The ritual and liturgy of the fourth day now follows:[3]

In Nisan on the fourth day at the end of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the second night watch the high priest shall approach and wash himself in river water. Before Bel and Belit he shall put on a linen robe. He shall say this prayer of private penance unto Bel. He shall say this petition:

"Oh, lord of lords, yea, lord of lords,
Lord of victory, lord who cried not in distress,

[1] This library note of the scribes meant that the tablet in question was not the end of the series.

[2] Isaiah xli. 6 f. belongs after xl. 19. Translated after Cheyne.

[3] Edited by Hehn in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, v. 381.

Mighty one whose cry of wrath is not withstood,
Bearer of the crown of authority, creator of light
* * * * * [1]

. . . . smiter of the hostile land
* * * * * [2]

Before the ruler of the gods, Marduk, may the intercessors
Speak thy praise, may they magnify [thee].
May they meditate upon thy heroism, may they . . .
Unto the servant who proclaims thy grace . . .
In tribulation and woe . . .
In sickness and suffering . . .
May he go unto . . .
May he meditate upon thy [heroism] . . . ."

The ritual and remaining liturgy for the fourth day are broken from the tablet. The last column ends in an interesting manner.

" Twenty-third tablet of the series, Songs of Joy; not finished. The tablet which follows begins, ' Upon the fifth day of Nisan the seer and the prophet.' He that fears Marduk and Zarpanit shall not go out to work. Whosoever goes out to work, may the gods as many as there be in Babylon curse him."

The last regulation seems to be a note added by a redactor. One does not know to which day the rule applied; perhaps to the fourth day. The writer took pains to designate " those who fear Marduk " as those to whom the law applied. In making this distinction he probably had in mind Hebrews and other foreigners in cosmopolitan Babylon who did not worship the national gods.

LITURGY FOR THE ELEVENTH OF NISAN.[3]

" Oh, Lord, when into thy temple thou enterest, may thy temple [appease thee].[4]

[1] The Sumerian line I cannot translate. The Semitic version has a different text, " . . . Marduk, dweller in the temple of ancient days."

[2] Broken away.

[3] Weisbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, No. xiii.

[4] Babylonian liturgies are often characterized by a refrain which changes after a certain number of lines to another refrain, which in turn may yield to still another *motif*. The refrain, " may thy temple appease thee,"

Mighty one, Marduk, when into thy temple thou enterest, may thy temple appease thee.
Oh, hero, great lord Enbilulu, when into thy temple thou enterest (refrain).
Hail,[1] lord ! Hail, lord !
Hail, lord of Babylon ! (refrain).
Hail, lord of Esagila ! (refrain).
Hail, lord of Ezida ! (refrain).
Hail, lord of Emahtila ! (refrain).[2]
Esagila the temple of thy lordly power ; (refrain).
Thy city may say to thee, " let thy heart repose " ; (refrain).
Babylon may say to thee, " let thy heart repose " ; (refrain).
May Anu, father of the gods, say to thee, " how long until thy heart repose ? "
May the great mountain, father Enlil, say to thee, etc.
May the princess of the sacred chamber, great mother Ninlil, say to thee, etc.
May Ninib, firstborn of Enlil, mighty strength of heaven, say to thee, etc.
May Sin, crescent lamp of heaven and earth, say to thee, etc.
May Šamaš, the bearded son of Ningal,[3] say to thee, etc.
May Ea, sovereign of the deep, say to thee, etc.
May Damkina, queen of the nether seas, say to thee, etc."

* * * * * [4]

" Oh, lord, possessor of power, who abides, in the mountain house [5] may thy heavenly soul repose.
Glorious among gods art thou, yea, the gods of earth and sky.
Thy city Nippur thou wilt not reject. " Oh, lord, let thy heart repose," they shall say to thee.

follows the first eleven lines, where another *motif*, " how long until thy heart repose ? may it say to thee," is used. One may see this principle of Babylonian liturgy in the 136th Psalm, all of whose lines end with, " for his mercy endureth for ever." Certainly the liturgical Psalms come from a period after or during the exile. The Babylonian liturgies were sung daily everywhere in Babylonia.

[1] My translation is made from the Sumerian, not the Semitic version, which other editors use.

[2] Ezida, the temple of Nebo in Barsippa and Emahtila," mighty house of life," the chapel of Nebo in Ezida. These two lines are probably a gloss.

[3] Ningal, consort of the moon-god ; in late mythology the sun-god was regarded as the child of the moon-god.

[4] There followed here several lines with the same refrain containing appeals to other gods to intercede with Marduk.

[5] *Ekur*, a cosmological term for the earth. Also the name of the chief temple of Nippur.

Sippar thou wilt not reject. Oh, lord, etc.
Babylon, the city of thy joy, thou wilt not reject. Oh, lord, etc.
Behold thy city, behold thy city. Oh, lord, etc.
Babylon and Esagila behold. Oh, lord, etc.
May the bar of Babylon, the bolt of Esagila, the brick-work of Ezida
Cause him to repent. May the gods of earth and sky say to thee,
"Oh, lord, let thy heart repose." [1]

(Rubric): Prayer to Marduk, containing 35 lines, for the 11th of Nisan, when Bel returns to Esagila from the house of sacrifices.[2] The chief psalmist [3] . . . (broken). Copied from the original tablet of Belahhimirib.

S. Langdon.

THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT AND THE DECALOGUE.

II.

In Deuteronomy it is told that the Decalogue was written upon two tablets of stone (Deut. v. 19; ix. 10). This view has been accepted by the traditional interpretation of the history of old Israel. In consequence of this these tablets take a prominent place in the present popular ideas about the oldest laws of Israel and we are all from our youth familar with the fact that the ten commandments were written on two tablets of stone.

Yet this view is contradictory to what is told in Exodus. The narrative about the events at Mount Sinai, however, is very complicated and confused, and therefore scholars tried to find out the oldest form of the traditions gathered in the narrative. They found that the tradition of Deuteronomy probably agreed with the tradition of the Elohistic

[1] The Assyrian copy adds a prayer of two lines to the god Aššur for the king.

[2] See plan A, letter b.

[3] Concerning the important rôle of the psalmists in the temple liturgies see the writer's *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, pp. vii. ff.

work and supposed that the Decalogue was removed from its proper place by an editor.[1]

It is certainly to be admitted that Exodus xx. 1–17 is incorporated in the present narrative at a most inappropriate place. The first words of xx. 1 cannot be the continuation of the last words of xix. 25. The sentence of xix. 25 even remains unfinished: "So Moses went down and said to them. . . ."[2] We do not read what he said. Exodus xx. 18 the people heard thunderings and lightnings and the voice of a trumpet. There is no allusion in Exodus xx. 18–21 that the people heard also the words of the Decalogue.

Notwithstanding this the suggestion that the legislation of the Decalogue must be connected with the story of the tables of stone and originally have appeared at another place of the narrative, cannot be admitted. The only possible explanation of the fact seems to me that the Decalogue did not belong to the narrative or any of the sources of the narrative at all.

The principal text for the solution of the problem is Exodus xxiv. 12: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee the tables of stone and the law (*thora*) and the precepts (*miṣwah*), which I have written in order to teach them." The terms *thora* and *miṣwah* cannot refer to the Decalogue. Thora is the decision of God in cases of religious and social life. The Thora of Jahve is communicated to His people by the priests. The people go to the sanctuaries of Jahve to hear what is Thora. They tell the priest what is their matter and he makes them know the Thora of God (Exod.

[1] Though Driver doubts the suggestion of Kuenen that xx. 15–19 originally stood between xix. 15–19 and xx. 1 he also supposes that in the source of E the Decalogue was written on the tables of stone. *Intr.*, pp. 32, 33.

[2] The translation "told them" hides the difficulty. The object of the verb is missing.

xviii. 14–22). In this way they teach the people. The words "I will give thee . . . the Thora that thou mayest teach them" show that Moses could know the Thora of God by reading what He had written upon the tables of stone. None of the ten commandments are Thora; they are precepts of general bearing, principles of religious and social life, but no decision in special matters. Most of them cannot be called miṣwah either, for miṣwah is a positive precept to do something. Only the fourth and fifth commandments could be called a miṣwah.[1]

Evidently Exodus xxiv. 12 refers to a type of legislation that is different from the character of the Decalogue and of much larger contents. This fully agrees with Exodus xxxii. 15. There it is told that "the tables of stone were written on both their sides; on the one side and on the other were they written. And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God." The size of the ark, which was made for the preservation of the tables of stone, was 1·25 metre × 0·75 metre × 0·75 metre. According to the tradition, therefore, the tables must have been of the same size as the stone of Mesha (1·13 m. × 0·70 m.). Holzinger has pointed out that the 620 letters of the Decalogue would occupy twenty lines of the stone of Mesha. If the original Decalogue was of a more concise form, the legislation would have occupied even a much smaller space. On every side of the tablets, then, only four or five lines would have been written. It is evident that this is highly improbable. The thirty-four lines of the Mesha-inscription contain about 1,200 letters. Two tablets of this size,

[1] It is needless to say that some scholars divided the text of Exodus xxiv. 12 and assigned parts of this verse to different sources. The text, however, is without any difficulty. It is not allowed to divide a perfectly good context for the sake of proving a theory. There is no reason for separating the words *Miṣwah* and *Thora* from the words "the tables of stone."

of which both sides were engraved, must have contained a legislation of at least about 4,000 letters. Even if we would assume that the tables were only half the size of the Mesha stone the legislation had to be three or four times the content of our full Decalogue. The height of the ark seems to prove that the tables were placed one upon the other in the ark. Otherwise 0·75 m. would be too much. So probably the Israelitic tradition here refers to a legislation of the size of the "Book of the Covenant."

Here the question arises whether the Book of the Covenant can be the "Thora and Miṣwah" referred to by Exodus xxiv. 12. This seems to be made impossible by xxiv. 4 seq. "And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord . . . and he took the book of the covenant and read in audience, of the people." If Moses has written all the words in a book, he cannot have received the same legislation from God written on tables of stone. If Exodus xxiv. 4 sqq. refer to the laws of Exodus xxi.–xxiii., the contents of the tables must be different from these laws. Now a careful examination of Exodus xxiv. 1–8 teaches us that Exodus xxiv. 4 cannot refer to all the laws of the Book of the Covenant. It is probable that in xxiv. 3 the words "and all the judgments" do not belong to the original text. They are not found in xxiv. 3*b*, 4, and no allusion is made to them in verse 8. In these places only the "words" are mentioned and not the words and the judgments. The term has been interpolated into the text in order to connect Exodus xxiv. 3 seq. in a better way with the foregoing chapters xx. 22–xxiii. 19, for xxi 1 begins, "These are the judgments, which thou shalt set before them." From this it follows that Moses originally was not supposed to have written all the laws of Exodus xx. 22–xxiii. 19, but only a part of them, which was designed as "the words of Jahve."

Now it is very remarkable that we find a final sentence

in the middle of the list of precepts of Exodus xxiii. 1–19. Evidently xxiii. 13 closes a series of commandments, "All things that I have said unto you, thou shalt observe, etc." xxiii. 14–19, however, contain further precepts about the feasts of Jahve. On the other hand the connection between the ritual precepts of xx. 22–27 and xxiii, 14–19 seems to be broken by the list of the "judgments" beginning Exodus xxi. 1. This is explained by the suggestion that "the words of Jahve" referred to in Exodus xxiv. 4 originally are Exodus xx. 22–27; xxiii. 14–19.

A possible objection against this suggestion is, that the whole contents of xxi. 1–xxiii. 13 cannot be called "judgments," for xxii. 19, 27–30, xxiii. 4–12 are religious commandments and no legal precepts. The Hebrew word *mishpath*, however, not only means judgment, legal precept, but also "custom" (1 Sam. x. 25), "charge" (1 Kings v. 8, Engl. text iv. 28), "religious duty, manner of worshipping" (2 Kings xvii. 27); so it is quite possible that the said verses belonged to a codex headed "mishpatim."

From Exodus xxxii. 21 it follows that the commandment not to make gods of silver or gods of gold was among the words of the covenant, which Moses read in the audience of the people. Otherwise the Israelites would not have known that they did wrong by making the golden calf.

Hence it is probable that the "words" referred to in Exodus xxiv. 4 were Exodus xx. 22–27, xxiii. 14–19.

The present critical analysis cannot assign these words to the Mosaic period, for it is based on the conviction that the early Israelites were nomads. The feasts of Exodus xxxiii. 14 sqq. are agricultural feasts. It is usually supposed that the Israelites borrowed them from the Canaanites. If this conviction is false and agricultural life was familiar to the Israelites of the times of Moses, there is no objection to the Mosaic origin of these words of the Covenant.

How is it that these words are divided into two parts by the insertion of the Mishpatim? The most probable solution is that the Mishpatim originally took the place of Exodus xxv.–xxxi. In the original form of the tradition this legislation was written upon the tables of stone.

Everybody admits that Exodus xxv.–xxxi. are later. These chapters cannot be the original continuation of Exodus xxiv. Moses goes up to Jahve in order to receive the law and the commandments, that he may teach his people. The precepts about the construction of the tabernacle are neither law (*thora*) nor commandment (*miṣwah*). The contents of Exodus xxi.–xxiii., however, perfectly suits this designation.

Evidently this legislation must be assigned to the premonarchical period. If we compare it to Deuteronomy, we see a striking difference. In the Book of the Covenant no king is mentioned. The highest authorities are the "rulers" (*nasi*, xxii. 28: "Thou shalt not revile Elohim nor curse a nasi"). No city is mentioned, nor a college of "elders" (i.e. the city authorities). The religious standpoint is also archaic.

Exodus xxi. 6 deals with the slave, who wishes to serve his master for ever: "His master shall bring him unto Elohim, and shall bring him to the door or doorpost, and bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him for ever. The meaning of this action naturally is that the slave is bound for ever; the door therefore must be the door of the house of the master. The Elohim must be the god or gods of the house. Elohim cannot mean a local sanctuary, as there is no sense in nailing the slave to the doorpost of a distant temple. Deuteronomy omits the bringing of the slave to Elohim. This shows that this custom contained some detail that was inconsistent with the monotheistic ideas of Deuteronomy, but it shows too that the

door was the door of the master's house, this being the only possible interpretation of the action in Deuteronomy.

Exodus xxii. 7–8 compared with xxii. 9 give another remarkable instance of the archaic religious conception. "If a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or stuff to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house; if the thief be found, he shall pay double. If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall *come near unto the Elohim* (and swear) that he has not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods. For every matter of trespass . . . or for any lost thing, whereof one says, This is mine, both parties *shall come before the Elohim*. He whom God shall condemn shall pay double unto his neighbours." Here, too, the Elohim of the house are mentioned. They protect the house, they know all that is there and what happens there. They are able to give a decision about goods that were within the precincts of the house.

But "if a man delivers unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast to keep; and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing: *the oath of Jahve* shall be between them both, whether he has not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods." The cattle is not kept in the house, it is pasturing, and kept within hurdles during the night. So here the oath of Jahve is demanded, Jahve being the God of public life. Critics have not been able to explain this "Jahve" in the alleged Elohistic legislation. The critical theory about the Jahvist and the Elohist did not offer a probable solution. Kuenen therefore suggested to read Elohim instead of Jahve (*H.c.O.*[2] p. 150). There is no ground for amending the text.

xxii. 19 shows that these Elohim were of subordinate significance. It was not allowed to slaughter animals in their honour, to sacrifice unto them: "He that sacrifices

unto any god, save unto Jahve only, shall be utterly destroyed." Jahve is the great national God. In His honour the annual feasts are kept. He is entitled to receive fruits and liquors of the harvest and the firstborn of men and animals (xxii. 28, 29).

There seems no reasonable objection to the theory that Moses gave this legislation to the Israelites, if we only remember that the Israelites were farmers before they entered into Egypt and that they left Egypt to settle once more on the fertile soil of Palestine.

If our hypothesis is right, the Israelites sojourned only for about eighty years in Egypt.[1] We perfectly understand how old customs and traditions did not wholly disappear during this period, and it seems very probable that Moses was able to give a legislation to his people that was practically founded on old Hebrew customs. If the Israelites were farmers before entering into Egypt, they must have had their harvest festivals, etc. It is a well-known fact that the memory of people, living in a simple state of life, is able to pass on stories and songs from one generation to another often during centuries. So it would be very strange if the Israelites in Egypt had forgotten all about their old customs.

There is no reason why Moses should not have written these laws. The name of the tables at least is in favour of the tradition that the stones which Moses took down to the camp of the Israelites were engraved with a legislation. They are called "Tables of 'Eduth." This term usually is explained as "Tables of Testimony," and it is suggested by the critics that it is a name of one of the latest sources of the Hexateuch, viz., the Priestly code. This, however, is very improbable, for the Tables of 'Eduth are mentioned Exodus xxxi. 18, xxxii. 15 in verses not

[1] Cf. "The Hebrews in Egypt," Expositor, August, 1908.

belonging to the Priestly code. Of course an editor was made responsible for this fact. This, however, was only done in order to save the theory. In the text of the verses and in the context is no ground for removing the term from the text. Moreover, if the term "'Eduth" is a term peculiar to the Priestly code, it remains unexplained why the Priestly code did not inform its readers what the 'Eduth was. According to the critical analysis the Priestly code did not mention the Decalogue. It has been suggested that everybody knew what the 'Eduth was. But how could one know if the term did not appear in the tradition before P ? [1]

Furthermore the term "tables of testimony," as usually is translated, is false. The Hebrew word עדות means in all other places of the Old Testament "law." Why should it not have this meaning here ? It originally means "custom" (Arabic *'adath*, a term well known in present oriental life for Latin "mos"). So evidently the translation—tables containing the sacred customs—is the right one. But then this term must be old, and cannot possibly be the particular property of the late Priestly code ; that would certainly have emphasized the fact that the law was originally written by God Himself, if it had introduced this term.

Thus far the result of the present investigation is, that probably the order of events in the original tradition of Exodus was as follows. The Israelites came to the desert Sinai and camped before the mount. Moses sanctified the people, and on the third day Jahve descended, speaking in thunderings (xix. 1–19). The people trembled and stood far off, but Moses came nearer to the thick darkness where God was (xx. 18–21). Jahve spoke to him the "words" (Exod. xx. 22–27 ; xxiii. 14–19). After that

[1] It is generally admitted that the text of 2 Kings xi. 12 is corrupt. One letter was dropped. Instead of 'Eduth is to be read ṣ'adoth, bracelets ; cf. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Kings*, p. 311.

Moses came and told the people all the words of Jahve. The people promise to do all the words Jahve has spoken. On the next day the covenant between Jahve and His people is read. Then Jahve commands Moses to go up into the mount in order to receive the law that He Himself has written upon tables of stone. Moses went up, and Jahve read to him the legislation, Exodus xxi.–xxiii. 13, and gave the tables to Moses.

Before concluding this article two questions must yet be answered: "What is the relation between the second Decalogue of Exodus xxxiv. 14–26 and the Book of the Covenant? How is it that the Ten Commandments are not mentioned in the original form of the tradition of Exodus?

B. D. Eerdmans.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

VIII. The False Teachers and their Place in the Early Church.

In the preceding Section the attempt has been made to put clearly the question regarding the position in the Church of the false teachers, whom Paul describes in this and in the other Pastoral Epistles. That the same class of teachers is alluded to in all three Epistles is universally admitted; and we have assumed it from the outset.

There is not the slightest ground for classing these false teachers along with the great leaders and teachers of hersiees in the second and later centuries. Paul's attitude to them is totally different from that of the Church leaders in that subsequent period to the heretics and the heresiarchs; and his description of the false teachers contains little that suits those heretic leaders, while it contains a good deal that is inconsistent with those later heretic sects and their

founders. The Pastoral Epistles set before us a time in which almost everything connected with the Church is still fluid and inchoate. Organization, administration, the order and manner of Church service, etc., are not yet settled, but are only in process of evolution. On the other hand the heretics of the second century diverged from an already established rule and order; and were regarded by their Orthodox opponents as doing so.

The Pastoral Epistles should be interpreted throughout on this plane of inchoateness. They refer to the circumstances of a growing, not of a fixed and matured, Church. The words of the writer are pregnant with meaning, and yet one must not everywhere insist too much on the words. The circumstances to which they referred were sometimes only the incomplete stage of something which should hereafter become fixed and definite, sometimes perhaps obsolescent and about to give place to another more permanent fact.

The preceding paragraph must not be understood as detracting in any way from the continuity and uniformity of development that characterized the early Church. The present writer is as strongly convinced as any one can be that the Church in the first century is an example of singularly regular growth and that the germ of almost everything in the second-century Church can be traced in the earliest stages of that Church's history. The development was, in a sense, natural and inevitable; the seed grew into the tree. But the development was inevitable only in the environment: it would have been stunted or altered in a different environment. Paul, who watched over and in an exceptional degree guided—so far as human powers could be said to guide—that development, considered that it was accomplished in a perfectly normal way, according to its own nature, because the environment of the Roman Empire

was suitable for it,—because the Purpose and Will of God had selected that time and those surroundings—because, "when the fulness of time came, God sent forth his Son." Such was his opinion at an earlier date, when he was writing to the Galatians (iv. 4; cp. i. 15, 16) and to the Ephesians (i. 10); and there is no reason to think he had changed his mind one whit in this regard, when he wrote to Timothy. It is quite evident that he was, if possible, more firmly convinced than ever of the truth of his own earlier view.

Now, however, he saw more clearly the difficulties of the case. In the course of his own experience he had learned more easily and quickly to appreciate the external difficulties and the way of meeting them; but the internal difficulties were always present to him, and they seemed only to grow more numerous, more aggravated and more dangerous as time passed. In each stage of the growth of the Church, as one internal difficulty was surmounted, there seemed to arise others greater and worse. Human nature was subject to an endless series of errors. The weakness, the follies, and the earlier habits of the young converts were always asserting their power. Even the excellences of individuals were liable to turn into faults and to produce dangers. The Jewish Christians, who formed an appreciable, though usually a small, part in all those congregations of the Aegean and the Anatolian lands, started their life in the Church on a much higher platform of moral knowledge, if not always of moral practice, than the ordinary pagan converts; but in different ways there were as many and as grave dangers from the former as from the latter class of members.

Anxieties like these were always weighing heavy on Paul's spirit, and prompted the warnings and advice on points of detail, as they occurred to him, which he noted down and sent to Timothy in this first Epistle. The warnings are sometimes, apparently, rather disjointed and un-

connected ; but they have a real connexion in the nature of Paul's mind, always pondering over and sympathizing with the difficulties to which his converts and his coadjutors were exposed. They are strung on the thread of his own personal character : they follow the order in which his mind recurred to them. Nor does this anxiety as to Timothy's success in his difficult task imply any unfair or too great mistrust of Paul's comrade of many years. Paul would doubtless have felt the same anxiety about his own success in that task : he was often distressed and terrified respecting his power of accomplishing the work that lay before him : " he was afflicted on every side : without were fightings, within were fears " (2 Cor. vii. 5). If we had his own meditations and his warnings to himself, we should probably find that he often gave himself counsels of the same kind that he gives to Timothy.

Among those difficulties that Timothy had to face the false teachers seem to have roused most apprehension in Paul's mind, if we may argue from the frequency with which they recur in the Epistles. Either they were a very serious danger, or Paul was afraid lest Timothy might be unable to stand against them : they were clever in specious reasoning, fluent in words, and confident in their own powers, whereas Timothy was rather timid and distrustful of himself, and in all probability neither very highly educated nor very smart as a speaker. There was, therefore, serious danger lest they might intimidate and browbeat him, and thus obtain the mastery in the Asian congregations. A boy brought up in so remote and rude a colony as Lystra was not well equipped by his early training for facing such opponents as those false teachers. They were all the more dangerous because they were not open enemies. They do not seem to have taught anything consciously opposed to the fundamental truths of Christianity. They were members of the

congregation. They were obeying in their own way the precept of Paul, and the opinion universal in the Church of that time, that every Christian should be a teacher. It was difficult for the less nimble-witted Timothy to cope with their quick and well-trained intellects.

To get some clearer idea as to the character, position, and profession of those teachers, we must of course begin by putting together all that is said about them in the Pastoral Epistles: that has been already done in many excellent books, and need not be formally repeated here.[1] But it is necessary also to interpret these scattered allusions, and to reconstruct the figure from the fragmentary details. The reconstruction must be made in the light of all that is known about the social conditions of such cities as Ephesus at that period; and it is inevitable that a certain element of subjective opinion should be applied in the process. The picture which we draw cannot be proved to be certain in all its details; and it will be least convincing to those who are thoroughly familiar with the accepted views about Greek cities and Greek society in the classical period without going on to study carefully the scanty evidence regarding the Hellenistic cities of Asia in the century before and after Christ: there are profound differences between the society of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (as we all learn about it for many years at school and college) and the society of such a town as Ephesus in the time of St. Paul; and many details of the later life assume a different aspect to, and are misinterpreted by those who have too thoroughly and exclusively saturated themselves with the other Greek knowledge. It is more really useful to compare the Ephesus

[1] Especially, 1 Tim. i. 4–10, 19–20, iv. 1–8, vi. 3–5, 9, 20 f.; 2 Tim. ii. 14–18, 23–25, iii. 6–8, iv. 4; Tit. i. 9–11, 13–16, ii.–iii. 9. Some of these refer to the future, and are expressed in the future tense; but they refer, not to future dangers and heresies, but to the inevitable consequences of present errors.

of the period in question with the educated Roman society of the early Empire, for education at Rome in that period was largely Hellenistic in character.

We must in the outset lay down as our guiding principles (1) that the early Christian Churches in the Aegean lands did not cut themselves off from the education of their own time; (2) that the education of their time was (as described above [1]) far too exclusively given up to words, and too little concerned with the study of real things. The early Christian Churches in the Aegean lands consisted largely of the energetic middle classes, who were comparatively well-to-do through their industry and trade, and who were favourably disposed towards education (as the Hellenic race always has been and still is) and able in their comfortable circumstances to have leisure for acquiring education.[2] In Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, he shows his fear that already at that early stage in its history the Church of Corinth was dangerously prone to philosophic and dialectic display. In writing to the Colossians (ii. 8) he warns them "to let no one make them a prey through the philosophy which is an empty deceit." The same danger existed in those Churches which fills him with growing anxiety later, when he was writing the Pastoral Epistles. In every pagan social gathering of which we know any details, the guests prided themselves on making some show of their interest in and knowledge of literature or mythology or philosophy. There is no reason to think that the Christians were free from this foible—which has its good side as well as its bad side. They were men of their time, with its faults and its excellences;

[1] EXPOSITOR, June, 1909, p. 491 f. The passage referred to in the *Agamemnon*, 740 ff., is more genealogical in Paley's text than in that of the MSS. or of later editors; but the idea is there in all forms of the text.

[2] I would venture to correct in this respect Professor Deissmann's teaching in his valuable articles in the EXPOSITOR Feb.–April, 1909.

and from St. Paul's letters we gather that they had a liberal share of its faults.

It must also be remembered what a large and important part was played in the society of the period by teachers of philosophy. When all classes of the population, which were sufficiently well off to have any leisure, loved to make some show of education and skill in literary and philosophic discussion, it is evident that there was abundant opening for teachers of philosophy in every city. To illustrate the language of the Pastoral Letters about the false teachers, we turn to the writers who describe the society of the first century, Petronius, Suetonius, Juvenal, Statius, Martial, etc.; and we recognize the same general type in a character often mentioned by them. This character was one which has no exact modern counterpart. The class of persons described by those writers present certain features corresponding to many different classes of persons in modern society, schoolmasters, private tutors, popular lectures, university professors, Sunday-school teachers, professional entertainers in social meetings, preachers: they have some of the features of each, but all the features of none. They were of the most varied kind and type themselves, from men of the loftiest moral standard ever attained in pagan society to persons little above vulgar magicians or buffoons. They were usually foreigners in Italy, coming from Greece or the Greek-speaking cities of Asia; and native-born Italians tried to compete with them, but failed lamentably in the competition.

Take, for example, Juvenal's picture, bearing in mind his tendency to exaggerate (in which respect he is perhaps worse than any other writer that has ever won literary fame) and to paint in black and detestable colours. The words which have been used above, on p. 170, about the false teachers in Ephesus and other Aegean cities, "clever in

specious reasoning, fluent in words, and confident in their own powers," might almost be regarded as an unconscious translation[1] of Juvenal's words about the Greeks who crowded into Rome, coming from Samos, Tralleis, Alabanda, and other cities of Asia and islands of the Aegean Sea : *ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo promptus :* their quick intellect, unblushing self-confidence, and ready oratory made them far too clever for the more slow-witted and less versatile Romans to cope with. Many other features are common to the two pictures. Both Paul and Juvenal give a bad account of the moral character of those persons, of their false pretences, and of the influence which they exerted on the households and families into which they were admitted, and the way in which they gained their influence. According to Paul they were corrupted in mind (1 Tim. vi. 5 ; 2 Tim. iii. 8) : they " creep into houses and take captive silly women laden with divers lusts, ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth " (2 Tim. iii. 6, 7) : " evil men and impostors[2] shall wax worse and worse " (2 Tim. iii. 13) : " they overthrow whole houses, teaching things which they ought not for filthy lucre's sake " (Tit. i. 11) : " giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils through the hypocrisy of men that speak lies, branded in their own conscience as with a hot iron " (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2) :[3] in the congregations people " will heap to themselves teachers after their own lusts ; and will turn away their ears from the truth and turn aside unto fables " (2 Tim. iv. 3, 4 ; Tit. i. 14). Juvenal[4] tells how they insinuate them-

[1] Sat. III. 70 ff. It was only after the preceding pages of the present article had been written, when I began to put on paper in order the features of the Ephesian teachers, that the analogy with Juvenal's description occurred to my mind with startling vividness.

[2] Wizards would be nearer the meaning than " impostors " ; but the two ideas pass into one another.

[3] This passage relates to the future, but the future is the effect of the teaching that has already begun.

[4] It has sometimes been wrongly inferred from III. 83, that Juvenal

selves into wealthy households, where they become dear and intimate friends (iii. 72); they are teachers of literature, oratory, etc., physicians, magicians: they adapt themselves to every humour of their patrons with cunning hypocrisy: they practise on the vices and weaknesses of every member of the household: they betray their own pupils to death (iii. 16). As Paul consigns them to Satan (1 Tim. i. 20), Juvenal loathes the very city where they have settled (iii. 60).

Paul dwells most on those sides of their character which he found most dangerous to his converts: Juvenal describes with special care either what was ugly and repulsive (so that his words often defy quotation), or the qualities which aided their competition with himself as a humble friend in the same household, whom they completely outshone in the estimation of the family. It would be easy to complete the analogy by quoting from other writers of the period (and from other passages in Juvenal) characteristics of these Greek teachers corresponding to every trait which Paul mentions, e.g., the kind of teaching that they gave in mythology, empty verbal dialectic, pretentious moral theories about the simple and ascetic life (in striking contrast with the conduct of the teachers). The striking feature of difference lies in the teaching of celibacy, to which Paul refers, and to which I cannot quote any sufficient parallel. But this difference brings us to the consideration of an apparent difference in nationality. Paul several times mentions the Judaistic character of the false teaching.[1] The teaching of celibacy springs from a mixture of Oriental with western speculation and teaching. The speculative teachers in the

is here describing Greek slaves, who have risen in the world through the Roman slave-market; but the line will not bear this inference; and the picture as a whole is that of free Greek strangers, who win their way first as teachers, and afterwards by their universal talents and their versatility.

[1] 1 Tim. i. 7 and Tit. iii. 9; Tit. i. 10, 14, 15; 1 Tim. iv. 3, 8.

Pauline Churches found a special source of inspiration and profit in the weaving of theories which affected a synthesis of Hebrew and Greek thought. That sort of speculation was readily received in the early Church, where every one who could think was thinking about the relation between the Jewish and the Christian teaching, between the Law of Moses and the doctrine of Christ.

But such differences of teaching existed necessarily in different localities. The teachers adapted themselves to the varying requirements of different people. There is no reason to doubt that similar differences would be observable between the pagan teachers in different regions, and even in different households of the same city. Where the teacher found a place in a Roman family that was interested in Oriental ideas, and perhaps practised the worship of Sabazios or of Isis, he adapted himself to the tastes of his hearers. Theories which brought together western and eastern ideas and myths and deities were fashionable and frequent in the Imperial time. Juvenal speaks chiefly of Greek teachers; but he really has in mind those Hellenistic teachers, whose language was Greek although they were often Syrian or Egyptian or Cilician by birth. The Stoic teacher whom he describes as having betrayed his own pupil to death was a native of Beyrout (Berytos); and he says that Rome was full of Syrians and Syrian vices (iii. 116, 66).

In short, we must conclude that the false teachers of the Pastoral Epistles are only a species of the general class of popular instructors and lecturers who were found over the whole Roman world throughout the Imperial period. The species adapted itself to the local conditions and the tastes of their patrons. These teachers taught for the sake of earning a livelihood or making a fortune: not because they were filled and inspired with the knowledge of the truth and compelled to utter the knowledge which burned in their

hearts. They had not been selected by the congregations to be officials and teachers. They were volunteers, and they had to seek pupils by specious arts, by teaching what would make them popular, even (as Paul declares) by practising on the superstitions and on the vices of the weak and foolish.

In this there is nothing that is inconsistent with the period 60–70 B.C. It is probable that the letter to the Colossians briefly refers to teachers of the same class, though this opinion may be disputed by some scholars, who would prefer to regard the Colossian heretics as missionaries coming in to combat the Pauline doctrine. However that may be, the picture given in the Pastoral Epistles is sufficiently detailed to give certainty. The teachers there described may be placed quite as probably in A.D. 65 as in A.D. 95; and the fluid, unformed condition of the congregations forbids us absolutely to put the Epistles later than the first century.

In illustration of the readiness with which such teachers might find an opening in the early Church, we must not forget that Paul and other missionaries, when they entered for the first time into one of those cities of the Aegean lands, appeared to the population in the same character, as volunteer lecturers in philosophy and morals. It was expected that, as soon as they had acquired popularity and were sought after, they would begin to charge fees and make money; and Paul maintains that the teacher who gave right teaching was worthy of being paid, though he himself preferred always to give his instruction free, and rather to earn his living by manual labour and to teach only in the intervals of working.[1]

The exaggerated picture which Juvenal draws of the

[1] In Ephesus "from the fifth to the tenth hour" (Acts xix. 9), Bezan text: he evidently worked as a craftsman from break of day to the fifth hour (xx. 34).

moral character of the Graeco-Asiatic teachers whom he describes cannot, of course, be applied to the false teachers in the Ephesian and other Asian congregations. His picture is false even about Roman society. He was an exaggerator by nature as well as by intention and habit. He took the occasional evils and described them as the normal character of the teachers, whom he hated as successful rivals. But, further, many and serious as were the faults of the converts in Paul's Churches, those congregations represented a distinctly higher level of moral life and conduct than ruled in ordinary pagan society. Hence Paul's picture wants the blackness of Juvenal's. He alludes to moral faults in the Ephesian teachers ; but when his statements are carefully read, the worst moral features are seen to be more in the future than in the present : the evils are going to be the result of special and conceited theorizing, but there is no reason to think that they were all existent already. Paul is rather uttering warnings than denouncing crimes.

Some scholars find that there is a difference of tone in the three Pastoral Epistles towards the false teachers, and that this difference cannot be explained in any other way than as a consequence of the progressive development of the false teaching. If the view stated above is even approximately correct, there was no single heresy, with a definite tendency and line of development of its own ; and therefore there can be no possibility of explaining the difference in Paul's tone toward the false teachers by the development and growing intensity of its peculiar system of error. There was, as we think, no system of error : There was only an unregulated and therefore dangerous habit of using opportunities for gaining a livelihood by specious and unstable teaching : the false teachers had no common doctrine except the Christian Faith, which

they were united in assuming to be true, but they had no right understanding of it in itself, or of the Mosaic Law, or of the relation between the two. The cure lay in supplying right teaching in place of this haphazard and capricious teaching; and this was possible only through better organization and regulation of the congregation and through steady insistence on the right doctrine, which ought to be consistently placed before learners by all teachers.

Here, as everywhere in the study of the Pastoral Letters, everything depends on the point of view; and the champions of the opinion and argument which we have just alluded to have been misled by the presumption, which underlay their thought from the beginning, that there was a definite school of heretical doctrine against which the writer of the three Epistles is directing all his efforts. In fact, we find that in this, as so often in the so-called "Higher Criticism," the entire position is assumed in the outset: grant the preliminary assumption, and the rest follows with unerring logic. If the foundation is safe, the rest of the building is often faultless and lasting. Unfortunately, we hold the preliminary assumption to be wrong, and the foundation of the structure to be unstable as a quicksand.

How then explain the difference of tone in the Epistles? The slight difference of tone is due to subjective, not to objective causes. It arose in Paul's mind and nature, and was not forced on him by external circumstances and by the more defined and alarming character of the false teaching. The view against which we are contending is that in 2 Timothy the danger is least, the condemnation mildest, and the heresy vaguest and least sharply defined; Titus occupies a middle position; and in 1 Timothy there is the sharpest and clearest definition, the strongest condemnation, and the most vivid apprehension of the danger.

The conclusion from this statement of the facts is that 2 Timothy was composed last, and 1 Timothy first, of the three Epistles. The case for the authenticity of the Pastoral Letters is thereby annihilated, for they allude to historical facts in the opposite order: in 1 Timothy Paul is free and planning further travels and missionary enterprises: in 2 Timothy he is in prison, and his condemnation and death are imminent. If 2 Timothy is a genuine writing of Paul's, it is almost the last expression of his wishes in life. From this, again, it follows that the writer deliberately and intentionally took on himself the character of Paul, and placed his letters successively in certain situations of Paul's life, inserting references to the circumstances of the Apostle in order to give verisimilitude to the letters and to cheat readers into the belief that they were composed by the founder of the Ephesian and other Aegean Churches, and thus to gain increased authority for his statement of his own views.

As to the difference of tone between Titus and 1 Timothy the case seems to me to break down entirely. I see none. The one letter is a much briefer statement of advice which is practically on the same stage as the warnings and counsel given in the other.

The difference in tone between 1 and 2 Timothy is extremely interesting. It is the difference between the tone of a fighter in the midst of a keen struggle and the tone of the same man on his deathbed. The earlier letter is the harder, sharper and more threatening expression of the combatant; whereas 2 Timothy is the milder and gentler word of him whose warfare is over. But even in 2 Timothy the tone is every whit as serious: Paul regards the danger in as grave a light as formerly; but he does not condemn his present opponents so sharply; he rather insists on the future consequences that will result from

their line of action and teaching. In a sense, the condemnation expressed in 2 Timothy iii. 1–9 is as uncompromising as anything in 1 Timothy. The dying Apostle has not relaxed a whit in his warfare against error and wrong. But on the whole there is a gentler tone in the last letter, and a firmer conviction that the evil is evanescent and that the right will win. This difference in tone, misunderstood by an unsympathetic judgment contemplating the facts from a false point of view, is the foundation for an imposing but perishable structure of theory.

The false teachers of Ephesus interest us both as a stage in the history of education, and as a moment in the development of organization and discipline in the Church; but they play no part and have no importance in the development of doctrine, for they do not represent a heretical movement or system, but their teaching was the result of a tendency of human nature. They present certain analogies to the Sophists in Athens in the fifth century. Like the Sophists they were a heterogeneous aggregate of individual teachers, having no common system of thought to form them into a class, but having a common aim, viz., to make a livelihood and a reputation by teaching, and seeking this aim by methods similar in the different cases, because they were suggested by the circumstances of the situation and by the nature of human beings. It is always the case that such volunteer teachers, competing with one another, are tempted to seek for popularity by accommodating themselves to the weaknesses of the people whom they seek to attract. Individual teachers resist this temptation, and if they are possessed of strong character and endowed with considerable powers in their profession, they may not suffer from their resistance, but win success and be respected all the more because they have resisted a serious temptation. But the temptation is too strong

for many of the competitors, especially for the weaker ones. It is easy to find much to say in defence alike of the Sophists and of the Ephesian false teachers; but the fact remains that both were condemned on similar grounds by the greatest of thinkers and moralists in their own time; and history must pronounce the decision, that they were a dangerous phenomenon in the development of society and education.

In the development of organization in the Church the false teachers also had a distinct importance. How was this danger to be met? So far as Paul could see, the cure lay in stricter discipline within the Church, and in placing the teaching more exclusively under the care of persons approved by the choice of the congregation after scrutiny of their character and knowledge and doctrinal position. For this purpose organization must be systematized and strengthened, and the virtue of obedience to authority must be inculcated. That is the general subject and tendency of the Pastoral Letters, as contrasted with the earlier Pauline Letters; and this characteristic it is which most brings their authenticity under suspicion. Yet the development in Paul's views seems natural and necessary, if he lived long enough: i.e. if he was not condemned to death at the first Roman trial. There is always in every spiritual and intellectual movement the same sequence: first, the insistence on the individual freedom and the individual right to live his own intellectual and moral life: then, the realization by experience of the other truth, that man is not really free when he is left too much to individual caprice, that he attains true freedom best under the reign of law, and that the virtue of obedience must be cultivated carefully, because only through obedience does one learn to be free, and only by obeying the law can one attain to freedom from the law. Such is the lesson

that we who are engaged in the practical work of education at the present day in this country are learning; and we have not learned it sufficiently. Many teachers who have lived long enough must be conscious of having gone through a similar development of view and method to that which is observed in the earlier and in the Pastoral Epistles of Paul.

As we have stated above, much can be said in defence of the false teachers; and, when we scrutinize the three letters carefully, we find that Paul's condemnation is stronger of the results and future consequences of their teaching than of their actual present character. The moral evils that originate from them are rather contingent and future than actual and present. Their influence on "silly women, laden with sins" (2 Tim. iii. 6)[1] is a feature that looks very ugly, especially when one thinks of the character and faults of ancient life. But we must bear in mind that, in that stage of religious development, it is the more emotional and frivolous who are most easily led into extremes of fantastic and emotional religiosity. Paul foresaw the prospect that various abnormal types of an over-excited and enthusiastic religious devotion might acquire a hold on that kind of women whose feelings were stronger than their judgment; and in guarding against this he insists on the need for inculcating a norm and rule and law. Yet a careful weighing of all the references in the Epistles certainly points to the result that the Apostle was taking this danger at a very early stage, and did not allow it to grow serious before he began to organize precautions against it. The Epistles belong to an early stage—a very early stage indeed—in Church history.

[1] One need hardly guard against the misinterpretation that this is Paul's characterization of all women. The master of Luke did not think like that; but he was painfully well aware that such is one class of women.

Only in this interpretation of their meaning and purpose can we reconcile the evidence about Ephesus contained in the two letters to Timothy with the strong and hearty testimony which the Revelation and the letter of Ignatius bear to the services rendered by the Ephesians in detecting and rejecting false teachers, and to their career of patient truth and steadfast love "for my name's sake."[1] The evidence from widely different sources works into the one uniform picture, when all is rightly contemplated.

There are two questions which insistently present themselves on this subject: Was St. Paul's opposition to these teachers successful? and, if so, what was likely to be the effect on Christian society?

That his opposition was successful seems beyond question. The authority of the officials appointed in each congregation gradually established itself, and was fully and generally recognized early in the second century. The volunteer teachers' profession seems to have decayed and disappeared in the Church. The results were unfortunate: the counsel given in the Pastoral Epistles was regarded as complete and final, whereas it ought to have been treated as only the beginning of legislation. The Epistles readily open to be misinterpreted in the sense that Christian teaching should be in the hands, or at least under the control, of the Church officials (presbyters or bishops and deacons then, bishop with presbyters and deacons later). In the Lycaonian Church of the fourth century it would appear almost that the priests were the only teachers; at least, the office of teaching is mentioned in various epitaphs as if it were an important and necessary part of their official duties.[2] Dr.

[1] *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 240.

[2] Some evidence bearing on this matter is collected in the writer's book *Luke the Physician, and other Studies in the History of Religion:* see the last paper in that volume.

Bigg, in his singularly able, learned, and suggestive book on *The Church's Task in the Roman Empire*, points out that the education of Christian children lay largely in the hands of pagan teachers. This proves that the discouragement of the volunteer teachers was successful, and that the substitution of clerical in place of lay teaching (which was practically the result, though these terms clerical and lay anticipate the actual facts of the second century, and are therefore rather anachronistic) was unable to supply the educational needs of the congregations. The needed supplement to the Pastoral Epistles was the establishment of an educational system in Christian society. The task was too great. The forces of the empire were against it. The tendency was for education to degenerate and disappear. Despotism in government, apathy among the governed, increasing rigidity of caste and class distinctions in society, the system of cheap amusements and charitable feeding of an idle and uneducated proletariate were destroying the empire. Very few among the leaders of the Church in post-Pauline times felt the need and the value of education in Christian society. None attained to a statesmanlike conception of the nature, causes, and cure of the evil. Whether Paul, if he had lived, would have met the situation cannot be known. He was cut off immediately after the Pastoral Letters were written; and their purpose was narrowed and hardened in the estimation of subsequent generations.

W. M. Ramsay.

OPERA FORIS.

Materials for the Preacher.

IX.

Exod. xxii. 28 : *Thou shalt not curse a ruler of thy people.*

This injunction is quoted against himself by Paul, in Acts xxiii. 5, from the LXX version : *Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.* Respectfulness is the main note of the counsel. A certain deference is due to authorities in virtue of their position ; for without this a man would become an irreligious and anti-social Ishmaelite. The habit of decrying the government or of running down one's own country, which is the opposite extreme of passive obedience, is more than unpatriotic ; it tends to loosen the fibres of national and social well-being, and also to lower the standard of public morality.

Professor Lowell, of Harvard, brings this out, from a modern point of view, in his recent work upon *The Government of England.* He speaks, in one passage (vol. ii. pp. 506 f.), of the American habit, which still prevails to some extent, of decrying the corruptions latent and patent in the United States government, a temper of mind which, for all its elements of justice, has often led Americans " to credit and repeat any charge of misconduct, until a spotted surface seemed wholly dark. In Great Britain one is impressed by the opposite tone of mind in regard to public life." Englishmen, as he notices, are willing, probably too willing, to admit their industrial defects, but they are proud of their government, and this pride helps, to some extent, to keep that government honest and pure. The average Briton has his own opinion upon the party in office. He disagrees often with its policy, if he chances to belong to the opposite side. " But he is certain that the general

form of government is well-nigh perfect, and he has an unshaken confidence in the personal integrity of statesmen. On this point he lays to heart the text: 'Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.' Such a frame of mind has an excellent effect upon the rising generation, for it makes them regard a lack of probity in public affairs as the unpardonable sin which no respectable person ever commits." This "general assumption that everybody speaks the truth" strikes Professor Lowell as a distinct English characteristic. While it does not check healthy criticism or opposition, it operates wholesomely by setting up a high standard of public morals.[1] Now and then a particular individual may abuse his position, but this is not allowed to shake the general confidence, nor does it lead to indiscriminate suspicion of all authorities. The application of this to the church, as well as to the state, is too obvious to need any comment.

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Eccles. iv. 4–6. These three verses may be taken as a reflection upon the extremes of ambition and indolence and the *via media* of true contentment. All work undertaken for the purpose of rivalling or outshining another person is vanity. It never satisfies. Such is the thought of verse 4, as in the margin of the R.V. *Then I saw all labour and every successful work, that it cometh of a man's rivalry with his neighbour.* It not only provokes ill-will, but it is secretly intended to do so. The writer is thinking of men who seek success in order mainly to get the better of others or to display their own superiority in the matter of gaining wealth or of managing some department of public business. There is no true happiness in that sort of acti-

[1] Or, as Burke puts it in one of his great sentences, "The degree of estimation in which any profession is held, becomes the standard of the estimation in which the professors hold themselves."

vity:[1] it merely provokes jealousy, and it fails to satisfy the worker's own heart, because its motive is wrong. What then? Are we to sit still and do nothing at all? No, adds the writer, that is the fool's alternative. *The fool foldeth his hands together, and eateth his own flesh.* He reduces himself to poverty, sooner than bestir himself to labour. But indolence is not the only cure for overweening ambition. *Better is a handful with quietness, than two handfuls with labour and striving after wind.* One hand full, not two hands folded. The moderate competence of a man who is wise enough not to spoil it by vain ambitions, is a superior lot either to the easy-going fool or to the aspiring, eager man, who measures success by the number of people whose income or abilities he can manage to surpass.[2]

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Micah ii. 1: *Woe to them that devise iniquity, and work evil upon their beds! when the morning is light, they practise it, because it is in the power of their hand.*

The prophet seizes upon two heinous elements in the crime of these powerful men in Israel. (i.) Their evil practices were no sudden result of passion, but deliberately planned. Temptation did not need to lie in wait for them; they went to meet it. They were not carried away by a momentary impulse. They went over the details of their purpose in cold blood before they rose from bed in the morning. (ii.) There was no public opinion strong enough to check them. Society ought to make sin harder than ever to commit, not only by drawing up laws to protect the weak

[1] So Wildeboer in the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT*, on Eccles. iv. 4–5.

[2] Cf. Mr. Thomas Hardy's lines:—

> "It surely is far sweeter and more wise
> To water love, than toil to leave anon
> A name whose glory-gleam will but advise
> Invidious minds to quench it with their own."

but by creating a powerful sentiment against evil practices.[1] But these unjust and rapacious characters had everything in their own hands. There was none to gainsay them, as they took advantage of their weaker neighbours. Their set purpose of evil was *in the power of their hand*, and any timid protest from their victims found no support in a well-formed public opinion which would visit such outrages with disapprobation and deterring condemnation.

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Matt. xi. 25–7 :—*At that season Jesus answered and said :*

I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth,
that thou didst hide these things (ταῦτα) *from the wise and understanding,*
and didst reveal them unto babes ;
Yea, Father, for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight.
All things (πάντα) *have been delivered* (παρεδόθη) *to me by my Father.*

The πάντα in verse 27 refers, like the ταῦτα of the preceding words, not to any supernatural power, but to the knowledge of things divine, to "insight into the true nature of religion," which, as Wellhausen points out, Jesus is here defending against the learned religion of the rabbinical scribes and probably also against contemporary tendencies of an esoteric character. "All doctrine and all knowledge is with the Jews παράδοσις (=kabbala), yet the παράδοσις of Jesus is derived directly from God, and not from man. It has only the name in common with the Jewish or mystic παράδοσις. In essence, it is entirely different."[2] The

[1] "It is needful only to look around us," said Huxley, "to see that the greatest restrainer of the anti-social tendencies of men is fear, not of the law, but of the opinion of their fellows."

[2] So Schmiedel in *das vierte Evangelium* (pp. 51f.), who points out how this consciousness of a mission to impart God's truth to men is genuinely synoptic. The ταῦτα must not be taken to refer to the δυνάμεις vainly shown to Capernaum, etc.

"tradition" of Jesus is part and parcel of his personal relation to the Father, and can only be mediated by intercourse.

Taken in this light, the passage thus becomes, as Harnack observes (*Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 218 f.), "one of the most important sources of our knowledge of the personality of our Lord," since "it contains conceptions which fit in with our Lord's genuine sphere of thought."

It is this conscious certainty of his own mission which prepares the way for the following invitation, *Come unto me*. Those who are burdened by the vexatious traditions and external requirements of conventional religion are bidden come into touch with one whose message is for the νήπιοι or simple folk, and whose personality is divinely and uniquely equipped for the task of satisfying any genuine desire to know God the Father.[1] Jesus has in himself the source of insight into things divine, and the source is not esoteric. It presents no difficulties to those who approach it with teachable and humble minds. Let them be encouraged by this confidence which he has in himself. He has absolute faith in his mission and message; and these are of so accessible a nature as to inspire reasonable confidence in people whom other religious appeals only confuse.

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Matthew xxi. 2: *Then Jesus sent two disciples.*

The two disciples are sent to look after an animal for their Master to ride. This humble duty is graphically introduced; it seems to lie in dramatic juxtaposition with the preceding conversation. Not long before (Matt. xx. 20–8), the disciples had been agitated over the question

[1] Si l'on tient compte du contexte, l'on admettra même volontiers que l'objet de cette connaissance est, par rapport au Christ, Dieu en tant que Providence, réglant les conditions du salut des hommes, et par rapport au Père, Jésus en tant que Messie et agent principal des desseins providentiels" (Loisy, *Les Evangiles syn.*, i. p. 909).

of precedence in the messianic realm, allowing their minds to rest greedily upon anticipations of glorious authority and privilege. And now, the next time Jesus speaks to them, it is to send them upon this menial errand! They had to fetch an ass, not to ascend a throne. It was a practical illustration of what he had just told them, that they were *to minister, not to be ministered unto.* Their greatness was to lie in obedience to himself. They were not to give themselves airs or to suppose that they were now exempt from common duties and humble errands.

* * * * *

Mark vi. 34: *He had compassion on them, and he began to teach them many things.*

The greatest need of human life is often to be taught. Material help is sometimes an inadequate method of showing pity. The greater charity is that of imparting timely knowledge. Christ saw here that what the people needed —whether they were conscious of their true need or not— was a prophet's function of instruction in the true way of God, moral guidance and spiritual impulse; they were blundering and hurting themselves by their lack of positive, clear direction in religion. Hence *he had compassion on them and he taught them.* Perhaps they expected food, or a miraculous display. If so, they got something better.

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Mark x. 22: *He went away.*

In this departure of the young man from Jesus we seem to hear the snapping of cords which might have been expected to bind him irrevocably to the Master.

He went away (i.) in spite of his moral earnestness. He had come running to Jesus (προσδραμών), such had been the initial fervour of his mind. This was no cool inquirer, but one evidently bent upon the attainment of goodness. He had come by himself, not because others brought him;

he had made his way to Jesus apparently upon his own initiative, requiring no incentive or example from his friends. And he had come openly, as Jesus was on the road—not by night, for fear of ridicule from his companions. Yet even this earnest temper did not avail by itself to create a lasting tie between himself and Jesus.

He went away (ii.) in spite of his moral purity, which might have been expected to make him keenly susceptible to the claims and attractions of Jesus. He protested that he had kept all the commandments, and there is no reason to suppose that he was self-deceived in this assertion of his integrity.

He went away (iii.) in spite of his attachment to Christ. As he asked his question, he had knelt (*γονυπετήσας αὐτόν*), evincing his profound respect for the Master. He was no perfunctory or captious inquirer.

Finally, *he went away* (iv.) in spite of Christ's love for him. *Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐμβλέψας αὐτῷ ἠγάπησεν αὐτόν.* It is rather significant that the one man, outside the circle of his immediate friends and followers, whom Jesus is said to have loved, was a young man and a wealthy man, and a man who disappointed him. Matthew and Luke both omit the clause, probably because it seemed difficult to imagine how "this unique mention of Christ as 'loving' some one ends in what seems worse than nothing" (Abbott, *Johannine Vocabulary*, p. 258). Dr. Field proposed, upon inadequate grounds, to render *ἠγάπησεν* by "caressed," while an early tradition, reflected in Ephrem and Epiphanius, seems to have taken *ἠγάπησεν αὐτόν* as = "rejoiced." But these expedients do not remove the difficulty, which is, after all, not uncommon. The incident reminds us, among other things, how far a man may go in the direction of true faith, and yet fail to take the last, saving step.

James Moffatt.

FATHER TYRRELL AND PROTESTANTISM.

If the common feature of the various forms of the modernist movement in the Roman Catholic Church is, as Abbé Loisy has said, "the desire to adapt the Catholic religion to the intellectual, moral and social needs of the present time," [1] it cannot but make a claim upon the interest of Christians who are not members of that Communion. There is no branch of the Christian Church which is not confronted in one way or another with the problem of adjusting the Christian faith to the intellectual outlook and social aspirations of the age. How Christianity is to be interpreted and defended, how it is to be persuasively presented with a due regard to scientific and philosophical thought, to the results of historial science in the investigation of non-Christian religions, of the literature of the Bible, of the origin of Christianity, and of the development of the dogmas and institutions of the Church, and to the social ideals which are at work in democratic and socialistic movements—that is a problem with whose solution every Church is forced to concern itself. It is true that the problem presses itself upon the Roman Catholic Church in an exceptionally acute form. For that very reason, the Modernist Movement has exceptional interest. Just because it is compelled, in face of the seemingly greater alienation of the Roman Catholic Church from the modern spirit, to deal with fundamental questions in a more thorough-going fashion than has sometimes characterised the apologetic work of the Protestant Church, it may be the richer in suggestion as to how the

[1] *Simples Réflexions*, p. 15.

Christian religion is to be adapted "to the intellectual, moral and social needs of the present time."

Nowhere can the bearing of the Modernist "apology" for Christianity upon Protestant apologetic be studied to greater advantage than in the writings of the distinguished Irishman, whose death in the vigour of his manhood has been lamented in so many different quarters and with such warmth of feeling as to testify to the depth of the impression made by his attractive personality, and by his written words. As Professor Holl, of Berlin, has said in his recent tractate on Modernism: "Amongst the Modernists the former Jesuit George Tyrrell is pre-eminent,—the noblest expression of the whole movement. He makes a special appeal to our sympathy on this ground, that the religious motives are with him at their purest and strongest. George Tyrrell also lives unconsciously upon a Protestant heritage. In Catholicism, he has gone through the school of Augustine, Thomas á Kempis, and the *exercitia spiritualia* of the Jesuits, in order to extract everywhere only what is sound, what is evangelical. To his strength of thought there is added a wonderful simplicity of language. He has the command of a homely beauty of form, such as is only attained by one who looks with steadfast eye upon the object. In both respects—strength of thought and charm of style—Tyrrell reminds me continually of the greatest of the English preachers of the nineteenth century—F. W. Robertson."[1]

Professor Holl is justified in laying stress on the religious interest which is at the heart of the Modernism of Father Tyrrell. In the case of other Modernists, other interests —the interests of the Biblical scholar, the ecclesiastical historian, the scientist, the philosopher, the social reformer, the politician—have had a larger share in evoking their sympathy with the Modernist Movement. But with Father

[1] *Modernismus*, p. 29.

Tyrrell, the religious interest was first in the field, and has throughout been predominant. In this respect he ranks with Luther rather than with Erasmus. As he himself has indicated in that extraordinarily vigorous piece of controversial writing—his reply to the Lenten Pastoral of Cardinal Mercier : " My pre-occupation has been almost exclusively with traditional dogmatic teaching and with the problem of reconciling it, on the one hand, *with the exigencies of the spiritual life ;*[1] and, on the other, with the recent results of critical Church history."[2] " If I owe much of my Modernism to S. Thomas Aquinas, I owe still more to Ignatius Loyola. *Nova et Vetera* and *Hard Sayings* (this latter, the fragments of a projected volume on the *Spiritual Exercises*) are rightly admitted by the discerning to contain the substance of all my later aberrations. They were written before I had met with or read or even heard of my subsequent Modernist guides and masters. These only helped me to shape and fix ideas that were formless and floating, and gradually to separate the two systems—scholastic and pre-scholastic—that were so hopelessly tangled in my mind."[3]

Professor Holl is also justified in claiming that the religious interest at the heart of Father Tyrrell's Modernism invites the sympathetic consideration of Protestants. Not on the sectarian ground that Father Tyrrell is " making for " the Protestant Church. He is passionately devoted to the Catholic ideal—the ideal of a Christian Society, with its roots reaching far back into the past, and with its branches stretching over wide spaces of human life in the present ; with its power of linking together a vast multitude of persons of different nationalities and races into the most wonderful organisation the world has ever seen ; with its great traditions of an innumerable company of saints and heroes

[1] The italics are mine. [2] *Mediaevalism*, p. 107.
[3] Id. 112.

and thinkers ; with its inspiration for Christian Art in architecture, painting, and music ; with the extraordinary range of its appeal to widely different religious tempers, to choice religious spirits, as well as to those whose religion is little more than a refined paganism ; and with its immense unifying force for promoting the solidarity of the peoples of Christendom. The Catholic ideal has cast its spell over him. As he himself tells us in the volume, which contains his severest indictment of the Roman Catholic Church as it actually is : " The very word ' Catholic ' is music to my ears. . . . If the Roman Church still holds me it is because, in spite of the narrow sectarian spirit that has so long oppressed her, she cannot deny her fundamental principles ; because, as a fact, she stands for the oldest and wisest body of corporate Christian experience ; for the closest approximation, so far attained, to the still far-distant ideals of a Catholic religion." [1]

But there is more than this devotion to the Catholic ideal which prevents Father Tyrrell from " making for " the Protestant Church. He rebuts—and with a generous warmth—ill-grounded charges which Cardinal Mercier brings against Protestantism, but he has difficulties of his own. The Protestant Church, as represented, at least, by its official documents and its favourite spokesmen, has in a greater or less degree committed itself to the very positions regarding creeds and dogmas from which Modernism has been striving to free the Roman Catholic Church. Besides, Father Tyrrell finds in Protestantism its own peculiar defects. " Profoundly as I venerate the great truths and principles for which Protestantism stands, I am somewhat chilled by its inhumanity, its naked severity, its relentless rationality. If it feeds one half, perhaps the better half, of the soul, it starves the other. The religion of all men must be the

[1] *Mediaevalism*, p. 185.

religion of the whole man—Catholic in depth as well as in extension." [1]

Father Tyrrell disowns that he is a Protestant in the making. It is in another direction we are to find reason for his Modernism claiming the sympathetic consideration of Protestants. As I have read his volumes, he has seemed to me to have close affinity with tendencies, visible in various sections of the Christian Church, which are suggestive of the direction in which Protestantism is moving. He himself is not unaware that his "apology" for Christianity may evoke the interest of Protestants who are themselves feeling out for a happier adjustment of the Christian faith to "the intelectual, moral, and social needs of the present time." "The controversy dealt with in these pages," so he writes in the Introduction to *Scylla and Charybdis*,[2] "is one of those which reach their acutest stages in the Roman Communion, just because the principles engaged have been at work there for a much longer time and on a much wider scale than elsewhere, and have consequently been developed to their extremest conclusions by the great logic-mill of life. Yet there is no Christian communion that in taking over some portion, however small, of Christian doctrine has not thereby committed itself to the same conception of theology and revelation, and of their relations one to another. If less extensively and less pressingly, yet all are to some degree encumbered by the same difficulties, and must, sooner or later, be forced to a similar criticism of traditional assumptions. *Hence these essays are of much more than domestic interest.*[3] Were it not so, they would never have been gathered together in this form. For indeed, I cannot expect that they will be very welcome to those of my own communion who, ignoring the existence

[1] *Mediaevalism*, p. 186.

[2] p. 2.

[3] The italics are mine.

of the problem to which they are addressed, will regard my efforts as idle and uncalled for, if not as wantonly mischievous."

There are three features of Father Tyrrell's "apology" to which I direct attention as of special interest to Protestants who are concerning themselves with the re-interpretation of the Christian faith—the emphasis he lays upon the historical Christ, the emphasis he lays upon spiritual life, and especially his exposition of the significance of the doctrines of the Church's creeds.

I. Emphasis on the historical Christ.

Father Tyrrell has told us [1] that before he had heard of the Modernists, he was exercised with the problem of reconciling traditional dogmatic teaching with the recent results of critical Church history. Once he was face to face with the question of the development of the Church, he had to come to some understanding with himself as to the starting point of the development. Historical science forbade him to believe that Christ had intrusted to his Apostles and their successors a body of theological doctrines as the *depositum fidei*, and instructions as to the sacraments and institutions of the Church. Nor could he believe that the Scriptures apart from the living Church constituted a satisfactory starting point. Where then is the starting point to be found? Significantly enough, he takes up the cry which has often been heard in recent years in the Protestant Church: "Back to Christ, back to the Gospels." This is the burden of that illumining and inspiring volume *Lex Credendi*, as a few quotations will indicate: "Back to Christ, back to the Gospels has ever been the watchword of salvation in such seasons [of spiritual drought and famine]; back, that is, to the classical, normative manifestation of that spirit by which all other spirits have to be

[1] *Mediaevalism*, p. 107.

tried and criticised ; back to the very thoughts and words of the Apostles, not as to a final rule of thought and speech, but as to the rude vehicle and embodiment of the first, fullest, and supremely authentic manifestation of the Spirit of Christ."[1] Nor is it the mere teaching of Christ Father Tyrrell has in view, but "the life of Christ, the Spirit of Christ as revealed to us in the Gospels." "The truth, the intensity, the depth, the purity of Christ's spirit, that is, of His vision, feeling, will, all in one, was such as to make it indeed the light of the world . . . His revelation was no divine 'Summa Theologica' written with the finger of God ; it was His own spirit of Love which He bequeathed, with all its implications, to His disciples."[2] "What makes New Testament Christianity in some sense classical and normative is that it exemplifies for us the working of Christ's spirit in its purest form and in its greatest intensity,—albeit under conditions that have largely ceased to obtain."[3] "In a sense, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ, was itself the Revelation, the *depositum fidei*."[4] "The Christian revelation, the *depositum fidei*, is the spirit of Christ with all its implications."[5] "We judge the lives of ordinary Christians by Christian teaching ; but when this teaching itself is in question we test it by the admitted or classical standards of Christian life ; we turn to Christ, whose life is, in a sense, a divine revelation, an implicit *depositum fidei*, and to the greater saints, whose lives are, so to say, authentic developments of His, authentic manifestations of the same spirit."[6]

It is to Christ—the life, the spirit, the personality of Christ —Father Tyrrell goes back as to the fountain head of the whole subsequent movement in Christian experience, Christian doctrine and Christian institutions.

[1] *Lex Credendi*, p. 20.
[2] Id. p. 19. [3] Id. p. 48. [4] Id. p. 49.
[5] Id. p. 59. [6] Id. p. 3.

No one can read Part I. of *Lex Credendi* entitled "The Spirit of Christ" without recognising that the author has a profound appreciation of the spiritual magnitude of the historical Christ. A Modernist like Abbé Loisy gives his readers —at times, at least—the impression that he regards the history of the Christian Church as a development from something rudimentary into something indefinitely greater. Father Tyrrell shrinks from comparing the relation of New Testament Christianity to its subsequent history with the relation of an acorn to a gnarled oak. He looks with suspicion upon any interpretation of the development of the Church which would seem to minimise the quite unique significance of the life and personality of Jesus of Nazareth.

But while Father Tyrrell insists that Christ, in whom is given to humanity "a new revelation, a new experience, a new life, a new ideal of human personality," [1] as the supreme fountain head and norm of Christianity, he is careful to point out that loyalty to the Spirit of Christ by no means involves a blind attachment to the thought-forms and institutions of "New Testament Christianity." In such "New Testament Christianity" he finds a denial of "all flexibility and vitality in the religion of Christ." It is the Spirit of Christ which is *the* thing of importance: to magnify the forms even of New Testament Christianity may be real disloyalty to the Spirit of Christ. "If we compare St. Francis of Assisi with a typical Puritan or Bible Christian, we shall find that the latter thinks, speaks and conducts himself generally (or at least strives to do so) much more in accordance with the New Testament embodiment of Christianity; but who does not feel that, for all the palpable differences that exist between the external religion of the first and the thirteenth centuries, St. Francis' spirit is unmeasurably truer to the Spirit of Him whose consciousness of Divine Sonship lit up

[1] *Mediaevalism*, p. 64.

the whole world for Him with a joy that no sorrow could quench, whose delight was to be with the lilies of the field, with the birds of the air, with little children, and with the sons of men ? " [1]

II. Emphasis on Spiritual Life.

Father Tyrrell is resolutely opposed to " intellectualism " in religion ; it is in fulness of life he finds the true heart of religion, in life that is " at once Vision and Love and Will." " No theory of doctrinal development . . . can . . . supply us with a firm and simple principle of discrimination so long as it looks on that development as more or less principally an intellectual or theological movement, led and controlled by the mind in the interest of speculative truth ; so long as it gives the lead to the *Lex Credendi*—to the head rather than to the heart ; so long as it makes sentiment wait upon idea ; life and action upon knowledge ; forgetting that we must live and act in order to discover the laws of life and action, and that we must keep Christ's commandments, if we would know His doctrine . . . We part company with those who bid us look underneath all variety and transformations of religious expression in doctrine or ritual for one and the same simple homogeneous sentiment of God's Fatherhood and man's brotherhood, and find in this the unchangeable substance of pure religion and undefiled." [2] " Let it be granted . . . that the intellectual defence of Catholicism breaks down . . . does it straightway follow that you should separate yourself from the Communion of the Church ? Yes, if theological ' intellectualism ' be right. . . . No, if Catholicism be primarily a life and the Church a spiritual organism in whose life we participate, and if theology be but an attempt of that life to formulate and understand itself—an attempt which may fail wholly or in part without affecting the value and reality of the said life." [3]

[1] *Lex Credendi*, p. 52.

[2] *Lex Orandi*, pp. 212, 213. [3] *A much abused Letter*, p. 51.

This emphasis upon life—the life of the Spirit of Christ—is connected in the closest way with the importance which Father Tyrrell attaches to the Church. It is in and through the fellowship of the Christian Society the spiritual life of individuals is quickened and nourished. The religious capacity "needs the educational influence of a wide-spread and permanent society for its development and progress." [1] It is here—in the service he conceives the Christian Society can render to the spiritual life of the individual—we find the explanation of Father Tyrrell's enthusiasm for the Catholic ideal. "To belong to this world-wide, authentic and original Christian Society, to appropriate its universal life as far as possible, to be fired with its best enthusiasms, to devote oneself to its services and aims, is to go out of one's selfish littleness and to enter into the vast collective life—the hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, failures and successes—of all those millions who have ever borne, or bear, or shall yet bear the name of Catholic, and who have in any degree lived worthy of that name." [2] "By our identification with this external Society (so far as it is a vital and voluntary and not merely a mechanical and passive adhesion), our separate weakness is supplemented by a participation in its strength and resources; we are borne up by the crowd, carried along by its rush. Our convictions are stronger, our purposes firmer, our feelings are keener for being consciously shared by the whole world we live in. Our courage and hope and confidence are measured by our sense of the strength of the army to which we belong, of the history of its past victories." [3] "As members of the visible Church, we share in those communised fruits of its collective spiritual experience and labour which have been accumulating from age to age; we are born, as it were, not into the bosom

[1] *A much abused Letter*, p. 61.
[2] Id. 64.
[3] *A much abused Letter*, p. 82.

of a solitary waste to find out everything for ourselves, but into that of a rich and complex spiritual civilisation, whose treasures we have only to appropriate ; whose life we share ; by whose spirit, whose ideas, enthusiasms, energies, we are, not so much taught as sympathetically infected and stimulated." [1] "It is to this Society, to this many-membered corporate Christ of all times and ages, that we must go to school in order to perfect ourselves in the art of divine love and to bring our will into more extensive and delicate sympathy with God's." [2]

It is from this conception of the dependence of the individual upon the life of the Christian Society Father Tyrrell develops his interpretation of the seat of the authority of the Church—an interpretation which has naturally enough been rejected by the official representatives of Roman Catholicism, but an interpretation which is in harmony with the democratic ideals of the age. "The authority of the collective over the individual mind as being the adequate organ through which truth, whether natural or supernatural, progressively reveals itself, has always been the fundamental assumption of Catholicism—*securus judicat orbis terrarum.*" [3] "To say that all spiritual and moral power is inherent in the people and derives from the people, in no wise contradicts the truth that it derives from God and is divine. It is only to insist that, for us, God's highest and fullest manifestation is given, not in the clouds, nor in the stars, but in the spirit of man, and therefore most completely in that completest expression of man's spirit which is obtained in the widest available consensus, and is the fruit of the widest collective experience of the deepest collective reflection." [4] "One thing, at least, is certain, that democracy has come to stay ; that to the generations of the near future any other

[1] *Lex Orandi*, p. 31. [2] Id. 28. [3] *Scylla and Charybdis*, p. 355.
[4] *Scylla and Charybdis*, p. 371.

conception of authority will be unthinkable ; that if the authority of Popes, Councils and Bishops cannot be reinterpreted in that sense, it is as irrevocably doomed as the theologies of man's childhood." [1]

III. Exposition of the significance of the doctrines of the Church's creeds.

It is, perhaps, in his treatment of the function of doctrine in the spiritual life Father Tyrrell has made his weightiest contribution to the Modernist Movement. In reading the Essays in *Scylla and Charybdis*, and especially the various introductory notes, one cannot fail to notice how intensely he has been pre-occupied with " traditional dogmatic teaching " and its relation to " the exigencies of the inward life." Intellectual difficulties raised in connexion with ecclesiastical doctrines may have stimulated his interest in the subject, but it is the spiritual man more than the mere theologian who reveals himself to us in the painful wrestling of which *Scylla and Charybdis* is the record.

Credal doctrine is often treated from the view-point of the bond it furnishes for uniting the members of a Church into one ecclesiastical organisation. This is not Father Tyrrell's view-point. And with good reason, for he finds the bond of union for the Christian Society in a common life—the life of the Spirit of Christ. His guiding principle in the handling of doctrine is expressed in his favourite phrase *Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi.* How doctrine springs from the devout life, and how it ministers to the devout life—that is the aspect of the subject which holds his interest.

Where are we to look for the fountain head of the doctrines of the Creeds ? Scholastic theology points us to " a certain body of divine knowledge, revealed supernaturally to the Apostles, and delivered by them under the form of certain

[1] Id. p. 381.

categories, ideas, and images to their immediate successors." [1] Father Tyrrell, with his knowledge of the origins of Christianity and of the history of the Church, can find no justification for postulating such a *depositum fidei*. The primary element in revelation is not the communication of final and immutable doctrines, but the experience, the life, of the Spirit of Christ. This is expressed for us in the New Testament not in dogmatic forms, but in "inspired imagery," in the "imaginative language of prophecy." The life of the Spirit of Christ involves, of course, implicit, if not explicit doctrine. "It is not possible to feel with Christ unless we think and will with Him, nor to think with Him unless we feel with Him, for the spirit-life is one and indivisible." [2] Nor can the Christian Society well avoid the task of formulating the implications of its own life. A clearer understanding of the doctrines which are implicitly involved in Christian experience, and of their relation to the general field of knowledge, is one of the means by which the life of the spirit is clarified, strengthened and fostered. A creed is at once a creation and an instrument of life.

If Father Tyrrell recognises frankly the indispensable place of the dogmatic function of the Church, he is never weary of reminding his readers of the distinction between religion and theology. Experience is one thing, its analysis is another; life is one thing, its scientific explanation is another. It is in a practical interest he insists upon this distinction. The identification of Christ's religion with the dogmatic decisions of the Church tends to foster an "intellectualism" which would make assent to the doctrines of a theological creed a substitute for "the creative spirit of light and love." And where an "intellectualist" interpretation of Christianity holds sway, mere theological confusion is apt to be mistaken for shipwreck of faith, and a

[1] *Scylla and Charybdis*, p. 112. [2] *Lex Credendi*, p. 16.

quarrel with the dogmatic forms in which the spirit of Christ is expressed to be construed as disloyalty to the Spirit of Christ Himself.

Not only is Father Tyrrell opposed to the exaltation of assent to dogmas over the life of the Spirit of Christ, he appraises the value of dogmas by the service they can render in the fostering of this life. He would probably decline to be reckoned a Pragmatist,[1] but the burden of his message in *Lex Orandi* is that the Christian Creed is shaped by " the exigencies of the devout life." " The religiously important criticism to be applied to points of Christian belief, whether historic, philosophic or scientific, is not that which interests the historian, philosopher, or scientist, but that which is supplied by the spirit of Christ, the *spiritus qui vivificat*. Is the belief in accordance with, is it a development of the spirit of the Gospel ? What is its religious value ? Does it make for the love of God and man ? Does it show us the Father and reveal to us our sonship ? "[2] " Beliefs that have been found by continuous and invariable experience to foster and promote the spiritual life of the soul, must be so far in accord with the nature and laws of that will-world, with which it is the aim of religion to bring us into harmony."[3] The doctrine of the Trinity is " a practical truth of the inner life, an exigency of Christian love, but not a necessity of philosophical thought."[4]

With his conception of dogma as " both parent and child of action, just as action is both parent and child of dogma," Father Tyrrell is favourably equipped for handling the question of the development of doctrine. If it is the living Church which formulates dogmatic decisions in the interests of spiritual life, and if these dogmatic decisions, in order to be effective for the age in which they are formulated,

[1] *Lex Credendi*, p. 251.
[2] *Lex Orandi*, p. 55. [3] *Lex Orandi*, p. 57. [4] Id. p. 105.

must be expressed in the thought-forms of that age, they are not absolute final truth ; they have only a relative value. They may have been the best possible means of " protecting " the Christian revelation—the life of the spirit of Christ—for a particular intellectual atmosphere ; they may be less suitable for a different atmosphere. The same interests of the spiritual life which called these decisions into existence may demand their readjustment. There is, therefore, a constant need of distinguishing between " the New Testament imaginative language of prophecy " and " the conceptual language of contemporary scientific thought " ; between " the religious and intellectual content of dogma " ; between the religious value of the early creeds, and the categories of Greek thought in which they are expressed ; between the religious value of later doctrines and the categories of the scholastic philosophy, such as the category of substance and accident made use of in the statement of the doctrine of the real presence. " The science of theology will be always liable to revolutions . . . owing to the progress by the whole complexus of knowledge, whereof it is a part or member. Nor will mere patching up and lettings out suffice ; there must be transformations, the dying of form into form." [1] " The criticism of the creed, in the light of science in general, or of theology in particular, cannot touch that religious value, which, quite independently of the external history of its origin, it has been proved to possess as an instrument of the spiritual life of the Churches, cannot assail its truth as a prophetic utterance (at least by adoption) of the spirit of Christ and of the mysteries of the Kingdom of God." [2]

If Father Tyrrell's exposition of the significance of dogma were accepted, a long step would be taken in adapting the Catholic religion to the intellectual needs of the time. If

[1] Id. 240. [2] *Scylla and Charybdis*, p. 237.

dogma is no final and immutable knowledge of God and His relation to man and the world, supernaturally communicated to the Apostles and their successors, and supernaturally guarded in its original form ; if Christianity is essentially a life, and dogmas but the intellectual forms created by the Church itself for expressing and strengthening this life ; if dogmas, always a more or less imperfect symbol of spiritual realities, necessarily bear the impress of the thought-forms of the age in which they have been formulated, and therefore demand readjustment to the altered thought-forms of subsequent ages, then the way is opened up for a reconciliation between Christian faith and the wide field of modern knowledge, including the historical sciences.

In the features of Father Tyrrell's apology to which I have directed attention, his affinity with tendencies manifesting themselves in various sections of the Protestant Church is unmistakable. He moves in the same theological atmosphere as Albrecht Ritschl, Auguste Sabatier, and many a theologian in the Anglo-Saxon Churches. What does this portend ? Are we moving towards a form of the Christian Society in which a reformed Catholic Church will find room within its communion for Christians who are in sympathy with such an interpretation of the significance of dogma and of ecclesiastical authority as is given by Father Tyrrell ? So Dr. Newman Smyth seems to think, if we may judge by his volume on Modernism, to which he has given the title *Passing Protestantism and coming Catholicism*. He, too, is under the spell of the noble Catholic ideal, and dreams of the advent of " the age of the one Holy Catholic Church." But one cannot help asking if the hope is well grounded, that the Roman Catholic Church will broaden out to make room for the realisation of the Catholic ideal. May not " Catholicism " have to " pass " ere the Catholic ideal can be realised ?

Even before Modernism had been condemned—savagely condemned we might say—by the encyclical *Pascendi Gregis* Father Tyrrell was aware that it meant a revolution for the Roman Catholic Church. "May not Catholicism, like Judaism, have to die in order that it may live again in a greater and grander form? Has not every organism got its limits of development, after which it must decay, and be content to survive in its progeny? Wineskins stretch, but only within measure; for there comes at last a bursting point when new ones must be provided."[1] "The Church of the Catacombs became the Church of the Vatican; who can tell what the Church of the Vatican may not turn into?"[2]

But the Church of the Vatican will have none of this revolution. And from the view-point of the interests of the ecclesiastical organisation can we say that it has chosen the wrong alternative? Deprive it of its claim to absolute divine authority for the doctrines it teaches, for the sacraments through which alone God's grace is conveyed to men, and for its hierarchical system, and you loosen inevitably the foundations on which the whole fabric is resting. Well may the spokesmen of the Vatican say to the Modernists: *sint ut sunt, aut non sint.*

Stubborn facts seem to forbid us to indulge in dreams of the present Catholicism affording a meeting-ground for the wider and nobler Christianity that is yet to be. Not in that direction is the Modernist Movement likely to affect the future fortunes of Protestantism. But is it vain to dream that the way is even now being prepared for a renascence of Christianity, in which Modernists will co-operate with those from whom they are estranged ecclesiastically—a renascence of Christianity which will minister to the deepest religious needs of the human heart, and at the same time be in harmony with the intellectual, moral, and social needs of the age;

[1] *A much abused Letter*, p. 89. [2] Id. p. 100.

a renascence of Christianity in which a stronger emphasis will be laid on the life of the Spirit of Christ, and the doctrines of our creeds be regarded less as bonds of ecclesiastical union than as " the creation and instrument " of the devout life ; a renascence of Christianity in which fuller justice will be done than is often done in the Protestant Churches to the religious worth of the corporate life of the Christian Society ?

" We can only turn the pages of history and wonder and wait." [1]

D. M. Ross.

RECOLLECTIONS OF FATHER TYRRELL.

The writer of the following has neither the intention nor the capacity to enter in the spirit of a scientific thinker into the far-reaching controversies which George Tyrrell's theological attitude and teaching suggest.

His work is a simpler one, i.e. to give, at the request of the Editor of the Expositor, some recollections of a friendship ever new which it was his privilege to share with the distinguished man, the great Christian mystic and thinker, who has passed away under circumstances that may well be called tragic in their comparative suddenness, and in the way in which the ban of the rulers of that Church of which he was a priest fell upon his open grave.

Something there was in the refusal of Catholic burial (a refusal only rendered, in part at least, ineffective by the brave action of the dead man's friend, the Abbé Bremond), which recalled the end of De Lamennais. With the austere spirit of the latter Tyrrell's personality had in common the characteristics of unflinching courage and sincerity, but unlike De Lamennais the English thinker desired to die as a priest and a

[1] *A much abused Letter*, p. 89.

Catholic. In his last written instructions he charged his literary executors to see that the words, "George Tyrrell, Catholic Priest," with a representation of the Paten and the Host, were engraved upon the headstone of his grave. The latter is in the Anglican parish burial ground of Storrington. It is a spot entirely suggestive of peace after toil, close to one of the beautiful country lanes of Sussex, and midway, as it were, between the two Churches, the one of Tyrrell's birth and baptism, the other of his boyhood's adhesion, and of the later struggles of his virile spirit. For close to the spot is the Anglican Parish Church, on the one hand, and the little House of Prayer, used by the Roman Catholics of the neighbourhood, on the other. Yet among the graves of the latter his body could not find a resting-place.

We have called George Tyrrell an English thinker, Irishman as he was by race and nationality, for his works are characteristically and thoroughly English both as to balance of thought (the pendulum seeking its level even while it swings now this way and now that), and also as to the splendid sanity and restraint of his literary style.

The latter features are the more remarkable, because, though held in leash, the Irish *ingenium* supplies much at once of the stimulus and of the vesture of his thought. Never, however, in any of his writings, does Tyrrell fall into the characteristic fault of so many Irish writers and speakers, i.e. of producing too many flowers in proportion to the fruit.

As he says in one of his essays, the two essentials of all great life and art are Fullness and Restraint. Hence his admirable illustrations of psychological and philosophic facts are never mere purple patches introduced to relieve the tedium of abstract thought, but are characterised by that inevitableness which is the mark at once of the highest art and of the most unconscious operations of nature. Hence Tyrrell's philosophic writings, while penetrated with thought,

are yet, in their literary expression, never either hard and bare on the one hand, or clumsy and confused on the other. He was a master of the English tongue, re-echoing in passage after passage the subtle charm of Newman, who was, after Bishop Butler, the first among those writers who had taught him to think.

Tyrrell's secession to the Roman Obedience took place at the age of eighteen. It had no connexion with English Ritualism. It was in Ireland that the resolve was taken, and Ritualism in Ireland was, and is, practically non-existent. Tyrrell had, however, attended, for some time before he was received into the Roman Catholic Communion, a little parish church on the north side of Dublin, All Saints', Grangegorman, at which High Church principles were taught and practised, as far as possible, under Irish ecclesiastical conditions. The aged vicar of this Church, Dr. Maturin, was a remarkable man, of real spirituality, of uncompromising temper and of much eloquence. An unbending High Churchman of the old Tractarian school, he was, curiously enough, descended from a Huguenot stock who had sought refuge in former years in Dublin from the measures of repression aimed at their co-religionists in France. Over his little flock Dr. Maturin exercised the influence natural to a powerful personality and a devoted life.

At this Church Tyrrell met Robert Dolling, a northern Irishman by birth, and then a young Irish landlord and land-agent, residing, when in town, at Gardiner Street, Dublin. Dolling was the centre, even at that time, of a group of young men now scattered far and wide, who were immensely attracted to him by his gifts of sympathy and leadership. Both Tyrrell and Dolling alike were strongly influenced by the Sacramentalism of the Oxford Movement, but at the same time they were quite unlike the ordinary ecclesiastically-minded youths who form, as it were, the camp-followers

of Ritualism, and are the despair of all sane-minded persons of the Anglo-Catholic persuasion. In the case of Dolling his manliness of character saved him from sinking into sentimentalism, while Tyrrell has never been much occupied with the outward setting of Religion, although he always maintained to the end the impossibility for human beings of a purely spiritual and disembodied Faith, and, therefore, consistently valued the traditional Catholic clothing which the Church has, as it were, woven round the inner spirit of her common and social worship.

The truth is that Tyrrell did not really pass, except most rapidly, through any distinctively Anglican stage on his way to seek training for the Roman Catholic priesthood and for his membership in the Jesuit Society. The first deepening of his spirit, when the keen intelligence of the boy looked out upon " the manifold disorders of the world," was almost simultaneous with the first touch of Newman's influence upon his reason and soul. Tyrrell was never, to any degree, a High Churchman of the Oxford type, indeed. In Ireland everything discouraged the rise of such a party. He was a Newmanite, and in the opinion of the present writer Newman's most distinguished disciple, at least among those who have followed the great Cardinal, after his death, to the Roman fold.

This lad, however, who read Bishop Butler's *Analogy* with the mind of a genuine truth-seeker, and whose intelligence soon after became saturated with Newman's logic and idealism, was no mere precocious pedant or unpractical dreamer. He was essentially a boy and an Irish boy to the backbone, delighting in fun of all sorts, and with gifts of mimicry which made his frequent parodies a joy to listen to. He had, even as a youth, a mind ever on the alert, ever quick to detect humbug and to strip off the mask of conventionality from the features of pomposity and boredom.

Tyrrell's transparent truthfulness, his abounding humour, his youthfulness of spirit, were indeed essentials of his most charming character. Amid the thousand worries and troubles of his later life, he never really lost these hopeful buoyant traits of temper. To correspond with Tyrrell, still more to meet him, was a continual tonic to jaded spirits and fading hopes.

The present writer's chief remembrances of him as a young man are of his inimitable playfulness, the verve and quick flashes of his delicate wit. Even then also a foretaste of the later "zig-zag lightnings of the brain" was given in the rapidity of his mental processes, and the mingled versatility and depth of his intellectual powers.

In subsequent years, no troubles (and he had to wade through a sea of them) could dull the keenness of his spirit. The present writer remembers calling to see him at the Jesuit House at Farm Street at a time when his relations with the Society were becoming difficult and strained. He was engaged at the time of the call, and so, while waiting to see him, the opportunity was taken of inspecting the adjoining Church of the Order. A sermon was being preached by one of the older priests. It was a proclamation of unbending scholasticism, and a not very forcible denunciation of the Modernist and Liberal tendencies. "Persons who join the Catholic Church must learn," said the preacher, "that they have entered her not as critics but as obedient children. Roma locuta est, causa finita est." So he concluded. A long conversation afterwards with Tyrrell in the clergyhouse was conducted, on his part, in an absolutely different manner, as to the treatment of present-day religious questions, from the dictatorial and complaining style of the preacher next door, but then, as always, without any bitterness individually towards the members of a theological school from the limitations of which his mind was gradually disentangling

itself. But then and always he was loyal to Catholicism, as he understood the true ideals which he believed to be immanent in its organic life, though weakened and obscured in their realization, as was his conviction, by the perversions of the system arising from the conscious or unconscious influence of a one-sided autocracy and from the interests of a caste of Italian ecclesiastics. The spirit of Colet and of Erasmus seemed to quicken again, as Tyrrell pointed out, as he did continually in his later years, that the mind of the Counter Reformation was, equally with the Protestantism of the sixteenth century, an inadequate and imperfect attempt to foreclose even by force the consideration of problems the complexity of which its leaders failed to understand. Ultramontanism, was, as Tyrrell came to see, an unsatisfactory solution, sacrificing one side of the truths necessary for human needs to the other, and, as in the case of Protestantism, God's logic-mill of History was slowly but surely demonstrating its inadequacy as a permanent religious settlement. "We must go back," he once wrote to the present writer, "behind both the Reformation and the Counter Reformation and pick up again the work of Erasmus."

Besides a certain similarity of theological tendency and standpoint, Tyrrell resembled the great Humanist Erasmus in another way. This was in his interest in books. He was an omnivorous reader, and in this respect, with the exception, of course, of mere trash, all was fish that came to his net. At the same time, no man possessed with the *sacra fames* for books was ever less superficial. He became an admirable linguist, as so many of the Jesuit Order are, and so as time went on he read deeply and widely in almost all the great European literatures, both past and present, especially French, German, and Italian, and that not only in philosophy and psychology, the subjects in which his mind

moved with the most congenial ease and rapidity, but also in poetry and fiction as well, though always looking mainly for new light on the tangled problems of human nature and of human needs. Of the great "masters of those who know," Dante was probably his favourite. He was deeply interested, as might have been expected, in the writings of the Christian mystics. These he regarded as forming a sort of invisible Church. Hence not only did he prize the *Shewings* of the Mediaeval Juliana of Norwich, and the *Serious Call* of the Non-Juror William Law, but he also came to value several of the Quaker writers, though thinking the latter deficient in regard to their tendency towards an almost exclusive emphasis on the Inner Light, to the danger of a corresponding obscuring of common worship and of external and organic religion. For an English essay on the *Imitatio* he wrote an admirable preface, in which he points out the weakness as well as the strength of that great classic of Christian Mysticism and admits that little stress is laid in it on the social side of the following of Jesus Christ. For Mystic as was Tyrrell to the core of his being, he was no Buddhist or Manichee. The theory of dualism, the method and aim of the world-flight, had no attraction for his thoroughly wholesome mind and sane intelligence. As he tells us rightly, in his last article in the *Quarterly* (a review of the work on St. Catherine of Genoa by his friend Baron von Hügel), the true mystic must be essentially the prophet and the redeemer, his mountain solitude chosen as the indirect means of wider human service, "his heart ever in the world, and the world in his heart."

In regard to the questions that concern themselves with the growth of the Bible, Father Tyrrell was a student of Hebrew, and had a considerable knowledge of Oriental research in its bearing on the problems of the Old Testament literature. In the modern Biblical criticism of Germany he

was thoroughly versed, reading the works of its chief representatives at first hand, and seldom or never trusting to mere summaries or compilations of views. All this, however, was, of course, the result of years of laborious study, pursued during a thoroughly self-disciplined life. Of the stewardship of time, he was a splendid example. During the more conservative and ecclesiastical period of Tyrrell's intellectual and spiritual interests, his mind owned especially two masters, i.e. Newman and St. Thomas Aquinas. He threw himself, heart and soul, into the movement, encouraged and blessed by Pope Leo XIII., for the general revival and systematic study in all Roman Catholic seminaries and colleges of the scholastic philosophy of the Angelic Doctor, as furnishing the most appropriate categories and the only really adequate scheme of arrangement for the doctrines of Divine Revelation. As he afterwards said (in the days when he was no longer a believer in the absolute character of Thomism), he had some right to criticise the adequacy as a system of Christian teaching of the scholastic Intellectualism and its attempted coercive and rational proofs of religion. He considered that he was justified in this criticism since he had passed years of apprenticeship to the study of the greatest of the schoolmen, becoming intimate with the mind and spirit of St. Thomas and being honoured above his contemporaries by the encouragement of high authorities to translate the Thomist philosophy into forms most likely to recommend themselves to the intelligence of the younger clergy and of educated Catholics in general.

So entirely was he trusted by the rulers of his Church and Order during the period when he was an exponent of Scholasticism, that again and again educated persons perplexed with difficulties about faith were referred to Father Tyrrell as to the priest best able to explain the facts and principles of

Christian belief in terms consistent with the exercise of reason and intelligence in the modern world.

Even, however, during this period, when Tyrrell's orthodoxy was unquestioned, his enthusiastic feeling for the Church of his adoption was an adherence to Catholicism rather than to Romanism as such. No doubt he accepted the Papacy, but never as a mere irresponsible and autocratic oracle, but rather as a guarantee for the Church's visible unity, and as the authorised mouthpiece of the Church's collective mind.

His attitude also towards the Anglican Communion, the Church of his baptism, was, even in his more scholastic and distinctively Roman days, marked by a generous appreciation of the good to be found within her pale and by a total absence of that waspish or insolent spirit so often exhibited towards the Church of England by those who have crossed the Rubicon which divides her from her Roman sister. Even in his earlier days, his conviction was that the exhibition of Catholicism not as pugnacious Anti-Protestantism and Anti-Anglicanism, spitting venom from every convert's pen, but as the home and synthesis of the various truths which are elsewhere found scattered as *disjecta membra*, was the truest way in which to recommend the great Communion of which he was a priest to the respect, and in time to the adherence, of the Christian world.

An Ultramontane in mind and temper, therefore, he never was at any period, even when a Jesuit. Yet since the Jesuit Order and Ultramontane theory and practice are to all intents and purposes convertible terms, the severance of George Tyrrell from the Society founded by Ignatius Loyola was bound to come, in the judgment of all who noted that the Catholicism of his writings was bearing less and less resemblance to the actual Catholicism as exploited by the Curia. The former was growing richer, wider, and

fuller under the idealising processes of Tyrrell's intellect and pen and his unfailing hopes that the Church of his love would at last become true to her own splendid potentialities. The later, the actual Catholicism, was becoming day by day the victim of curialist intrigue and ambition, a Tridentine and Vaticanist sect, its God shrivelling up into " the Head of the Clerical interest in Europe," its communion and fellowship " a place too straight for men to dwell in," a practical contradiction to the glorious name of Catholic. In a very characteristic communication which Tyrrell allowed the present writer to insert in the latter's *Life of Father Dolling*, he discusses the probable reasons which restrained Dolling, his old friend, from seeking refuge in Roman Catholicism from the turmoils and trials incidental to his career as an Anglican priest who was an unsparing critic of average Anglicanism. His conclusion is that it was the conviction on Dolling's part that a noxious reversal of the true maxim " Ecclesia propter homines " was no mere passing perversion, but a fundamental and ingrained characteristic of the Church of Rome which kept him from ever thinking of that Communion as a solution of his difficulties as an Anglican. To Dolling, Tyrrell goes on to say, " sacerdotalism " was repugnant, and he implies that in his own opinion that objection to it was a just one, although he did not yet realise how deeply ingrained is this sacerdotalism, or rather clericalism, in the practical system of Rome.

It may be startling to " Free Churchmen " to read of Dolling's and Tyrrell's feelings of antagonism to " sacerdotalism," for the former gloried in Eucharistic worship, and united to his evangelistic zeal the use of such features of ceremonial as vestments and incense, while the latter was so convinced a sacramentalist that it was his conviction that the average Protestant attitude on this subject is meagre and unsatisfactory, which would have made it quite im-

possible for him ever to become a Protestant, even when he was, as at the last, regarded by Rome as a heretic and treated as an outcast.

By "sacerdotalism," however, neither of these two men —powerful religious leaders of such different types—meant the conception of mystery in the Eucharist for instance, or those sacramental beliefs which were most real and essential to each of them. What they both profoundly disliked was rather the caste conception of the ministry and what Tyrrell often called "Bureaucracy" and "Officialism" in the government of the Christian Church. To both, the clergy were the organs, the hand and mouth as it were, of the mystical Body, not the Body itself, while the believing people are the main substance and structure of the Spirit-filled Church. The strong and increasing sympathy with the main advance of the social movement which Tyrrell felt, especially in his later years, was not, indeed, carried into action by him, as in Dolling's case. Yet while his was too spiritual an intelligence and too well-balanced a mind not to shrink from the vulgarity and materialism of much in modern Democracy, he still felt strongly and instinctively that the upward trend of Labour on the one hand and the principles of the Gospel and of the Magnificat on the other should stand in the closest and most sympathetic relationship with one another.

This sympathy was undoubtedly one of the reasons which detached Tyrrell from Scholasticism and, indeed, from *à priori* "Intellectualism" in religious matters and from that one-sided emphasis on God's Transcendence which sees His operations almost exclusively under a sort of regal category rather than as those of the "Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." At the root and basis of the Scholastic theology lies a conception of Authority which was natural enough under mediaeval conditions, but which can only drag out a very meagre existence in the modern world

in which authority does not operate *ab extra* to the community, but is the organic instrument and expression of the latter, the making available for the guidance and direction of the individual of the accumulated experience which is transmitted through the collective life.

Another reason for the growth of Tyrrell's conviction that the revival of Scholasticism was like the refurbishing of a weapon out of date, though useful in its time, lay in his increasing sense that Science has so revolutionised our conceptions of the world that, from the time of the proof of Copernican astronomy onward, the necessary changes in our way of looking at the Universe, at this earth, at organised life, and, above all, at man with his complex nature of body and soul, have been so profound and far-reaching that the older categories of thought under which the mediaeval and the sixteenth century theologians arranged the truths of Christ's religion are so shrunken and inadequate that they tend to involve Christianity itself in a feeling of unreality and lack of fidelity to fact.

But Tyrrell was not one of those who disparage theology without trying to understand the history of its growth, or who prophesy with flippancy the divorce of religion from all dogmatic creeds. He knew well that Christian life involves a Creed as its instrument of propagation and preservation, that it involves a bringing to the surface of man's nature, of those root-convictions of the heart which are elicited, strengthened and fed by the historic facts of the Christ-Revelation and of its consequences. He strove to steer his bark between Scylla and Charybdis, the Scylla of the confusion of Revelation with Theology, of the essence of Religion with its protective envelope, and the Charybdis of the denial of any importance or necessity to the historic reality of the facts upon which the spiritual experience of the Church has raised the structure of the Christian life. A

sane Via Media in this, as in other matters, was his ideal, a Via Media not consisting of some weak and plausible compromise between two inconsistent principles, but of the recognition of a truth richer and larger than either, by which the distinctive contribution of each is preserved to add to the fullness of the whole body of truth.

From a letter written by Tyrrell to this writer, not long before his death, we know that, although some have claimed him as in complete agreement with Mr. Campbell's " New Theology " movement, such was far from being the case, although we believe he occasionally contributed to the pages of the *Christian Commonwealth*. Of the leader himself Tyrrell wrote: " I admire his courage and his candour," but he went on to write that he thought there was a certain crudity of thought in the movement which made its attempted solution one-sided and premature. In another letter he severs his own position most definitely from that of Sabatier, and from what he styles the " Extreme Left " of the more unbalanced members of the Pragmatist school. Certainly, Jesus Christ was to him no mere Idea, rather than an actual energising Personality. Of his deep devotion to our Lord as a Living Master and Friend, it would be impertinence to write, as if of a matter as to which any doubt was possible. The Cross of Christ was never obscured by him in his dealings with the souls of men and women, nor were those he taught starved by philosophic theories, and fed, as it were, on barren husks. On the contrary, Tyrrell's whole life was filled with the Evangelic spirit. Of none, in modern times, could it be said with greater truth, and all the more as he was given to drink more deeply of the cup of suffering, that he had " the mind of Christ." He has gone before God attended by the prayers of a multitude of souls.

CHARLES E. OSBORNE.

THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT AND THE DECALOGUE.

III.

Exodus xxxiv. contains the narrative of the second pair of tables of stone. Verses 27–28*a* say that verses 11–26 were written by Moses upon these tables. At the same time verse 28*b* informs us that the contents of the tables existed in "ten commandments." Now verses 11–26 in their present form are by no means ten commandments. Consequently critics have attempted to extract this second decalogue from these verses. The difficulty was that every enumeration of the separate precepts gave more than ten commandments.

If we compare verses 11–26 to the Book of the Covenant, we see that the text of Exodus xxxiv. must be the younger one and is dependent upon Exodus xxiii. The critical analysis generally holds the contrary view, that Exodus xxxiv. contains the older text. This cannot be right for the following reasons:—

Exodus xxiii. 15, 16 contains the list of feasts, "Thou shalt keep the feast of the unleavened bread, etc."; verse 16 does not contain a verb. The two feasts of this verse are the objects of "Thou shalt keep" in verse 15. This is only possible if verse 16 is the immediate continuation of the first words of verse 15. The rest of this verse ("during seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee at the time appointed in the month Abib, for in it thou camest out from Egypt; none shall appear before me empty") breaks the connexion between verse 15*a* and verse 16. The words "none shall appear before me empty" do not suit the context at all. Their only possible meaning is that every time the Israelite appears before Jahve he must

offer some gift. There is no reason why this general rule should be connected with the feast of the unleavened bread only. Its proper place is at the end of the list of feasts. We actually find the words there (Deuteronomy xvi. 16). Evidently the words are a gloss in Exodus xxiii. The intention of the glossator was to read them after verse 17. From the margin they got into the text at the wrong place. The author of Exodus xxxiv. 20 copied xxiii. 15. He inserted at the same time precepts about the firstborn, which he copied from Exodus xiii., but felt himself bound to the text of xxiii. 20, as is shown by the fact that he placed the precepts about the firstborn between the date of the feast and the words, " none shall appear, etc."

The precepts of Exodus xxiii., after enumerating the feasts, gave three general rules for the offerings at these feasts. It was forbidden to offer the blood of a sacrifice with leavened bread. The fat of " my feast " (that is, of a sacrifice at one of my feasts) should not remain till the next day. A kid (that was sacrificed) should not be boiled in its mother's milk. Evidently these three precepts are mutually connected. The blood and the fat of a sacrifice is offered to the Deity, the meat is eaten by the offerer. It is apparent that " my feast " does not mean a special feast ; for " the blood of my offer " shows that the terms " my offer " and " my feast " have a general bearing.

Verse 19 breaks the connexion between these precepts. " Thou shalt bring the firstfruits of thy ground into the house of Jahve " has nothing to do with these sacrifices, and the expression " house of Jahve " is never used in the Book of the Covenant, for the good reason that no " house of Jahve " existed when the legislation was given. Here again Exodus xxxiv. simply copies Exodus xxiii. in its modified form. Verse 19 must be an addition of the priests of later ages, that got also into the text at a wrong place.

The later origin of Exodus xxxiv. 25 is obvious. Instead of "the fat of my feast" it reads "the sacrifice of the feast of the passover." In the post-exilic period all sacrifices were offered in the temple. The fat was immediately burned by the priest on the altar. Before the existence of the temple, however, every man might bring his sacrifices, where it was convenient to him, even without the assistance of a priest, every head of a family being able to sacrifice. So he had to know that it was forbidden to eat the meat one day and offer the fat on the next day. This precept seemed to be senseless in the time of the author of Exodus xxxiv. 25. He therefore altered the text and put instead "of the fat of my feast" the words "the sacrifice of the passover," this sacrifice in his time being the only one of which nothing was to remain until the next day.

Another instance of the later origin of Exodus xxxiv. 11 sqq. is the date of the feast of the ingathering (=the feast of the tabernacles). Exodus xxiii. 16 says that this feast is to be celebrated "at the end of the year." xxxiv. 20 says at the "Tekuphah of the year." Tekuphah means "turning-point." The two main Tekuphoth of the year are the aequinoctes in spring and harvest. Of smaller importance for the kalendar are the tekuphoth in summer and winter (the solstices in June and December). Now in the pre-exilic period the year began in the harvest, and it could be rightly said that the feast of the tabernacles was celebrated (as the grapes were ripe) in the end of the year. In the post-exilic period, however, the year began in the spring. Consequently, the expression "in the end of the year" was to be altered into "at the turning-point of the year." This designation was quite sufficient, there being only the turning-point of the harvest that could be connected with the ingathering of the grapes.

In the light of these differences it is not without signifi-

cance that Pentecost is called (Exod. xxiii. 16) the feast of harvest, and xxxiv. 22 the feast of weeks, this being the name of this feast in Deuteronomy xvi. 9. In the post-exilic period the feast was called the feast of weeks (2 Chron. viii. 13; Tob. ii. 1, *ἁγία ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων*).

Exodus xxxiv. 17 forbids to make "molten gods." We remember that xx. 23 said, "Thou shalt not make gods of silver nor gods of gold] *with me*." This *with me* is dropped in xxxiv. 17. This cannot be pure accident. xx. 23 did not forbid all images, as we have seen above (p. 28). In the post-exilic period, however, every image was forbidden. Consequently xxxiv. 17 omits the "with me" or "before me" of xx. 3, 23.

So everything points in the same direction. Critics have been misled by the theory of the Jahvistic and Elohistic sources.

If the commandments of Exodus xxxiv. are to be assigned to the post-exilic period, they cannot belong to the original form of the narrative, for this certainly is older. Deuteronomy x. refers to it, so it must be of pre-exilic origin. Deuteronomy x. 4 states that Jahve Himself "wrote on the tables, according to the first writing." This agrees with Exodus xxxiv 1, but differs from Exodus xxxiv. 28, where Moses wrote the words of the covenant. We understand the difference between verse 1 and verse 28 if we assume that verse 28 is a later insertion.

The key to the mystery of Exodus xxxiv. is verse 10. Jahve refused to go with the Israelites in Exodus xxxiii. As Moses went up to the mount he asked Jahve once more to go in the midst of the Israelites. Jahve does not answer either in the affirmative or in the negative, but says: Behold, I make a covenant: before all thy people I will do marvels such as have not been wrought in all the earth, nor in any nation. All the people among whom thou art shall see the

work of Jahve, for it is a terrible thing *that I do with thee.* "With thee" of course refers to Moses, and the question arises, what is Jahve going to do with Moses? The common answer is, Jahve will do these wonders through Moses. This interpretation, however, is false. The Hebrew expression עשה עם (do with) does not mean to do something through anybody, but "do something unto somebody" (Gen. xx. 9; xxi. 23; xxiv. 12, etc.). Moses must be the object of the wonder and not the medium.

The right interpretation was hidden by the critical analysis. The great wonder that Jahve did unto Moses actually is related at the end of this same chapter. As Moses came down from Mount Sinai his face shone and the people were afraid to come near him. So Moses had to wear a veil for the rest of his life. These verses, however, are supposed to belong to the Priestly code, and verse 10 is assigned to the Jahvist or to an editor, and so the difficulty was put aside by a false interpretation.

Moreover, the words "I make a covenant" were explained in their literal sense, and Jahve was supposed to make a new covenant. It is to be observed that there is no mention of the people or persons with whom Jahve will make the covenant. This has been overlooked but is not merely incidental. For there has not been the least allusion to the fact that the covenant of Exodus xxiv. was broken by Jahve. On the contrary, Jahve promised, Exodus xxxiii. 14 (also assigned to J), that "his face" would go with the Israelites. The expression "make a covenant" means also "to promise" (2 Chron. vii. 18; xxi. 7; cf. Genesis ix. 11, 19; xvii. 7, 39). This meaning suits the context exceedingly well. Jahve promises Moses that He will help His people.

Of course this expression could be easily misunderstood, and we really owe the present text to a wrong interpretation of those words.

In the original narrative Jahve promised to write upon the tables the same words again. It was not told in full that this happened, nor was all mentioned that Jahve spoke unto Moses. All the attention was at once drawn to the wonder that the face of Moses shone as he came down from the mount, carrying the two tables of the 'Eduth. A learned scribe interpreted the expression "I make a covenant" as a renewal of the first covenant, and inserted a second edition of the words of the covenant. When he did so, the present text of Exodus did not yet exist. Otherwise he would not have repeated exactly those words, that (according to our suggestion) really were the words of the covenant mentioned in Exodus xxiv. By his mistake the contents of the tables, however, became a different one from the original tradition of Exodus. For in Exodus xxiv. 4 the words of the covenant were written by Moses in a book and had not to be rewritten on the tables of stone. If he had known our present text he doubtless would have inserted the Decalogue. So the Decalogue must be a relatively late insertion into the text of Exodus, which was demanded by Deuteronomy.

It is the fault of the present critical analysis, that it trusts in Deuteronomy. This book asserts that the Decalogue was written upon the tables of stone, but it does so in order to reconstruct the history of the legislation in Israel. Everybody admits that the aim of Deuteronomy is a reformation of the cultus of Jahve. Therefore it is reasonable to be careful in trusting the historical statements of this book. According to it, no other laws were given to Israel at Mount Sinai but the Decalogue. All the other commandments, which Moses received from Jahve when Israel had returned to its tents, are contained in Deuteronomy and are communicated by Moses to his people in the fields of Moab (Deut. v. 30–33). It is generally admitted that the book is a mono

theistic edition of older laws, enlarged by a number of new commandments. It pretends, however, to be an old legislation, dating from the Mosaic period. Consequently, all the former laws had to be put aside. This could be easily done because the knowledge of the written legislation and tradition was confined to a small class of men. Nevertheless, the reformers were not able to extinguish the memory of former legislations. Otherwise, we would not possess the Book of the Covenant at all. In the place of the legislation at Mount Sinai Deuteronomy put the Decalogue. It took the Decalogue from the legislative literature of the monarchical period, which has not been completely delivered to us. We possess only a small part of the traditions and the literature that once existed in old Israel. We have shown that the original text of the Decalogue was a shorter one than is now preserved in Deuteronomy. Consequently the Decalogue must have existed before it was inserted into Deuteronomy. Hosea, e.g., knew a tradition about the struggle of Jacob with God at Beth-El, which has not been preserved in the Old Testament. Ezekiel xx. 25 refers to unknown statutes and "mishpatim" that were given by Jahve, that were not good and wherein they should not live. So it is not surprising to find that we do not know the source from which the Decalogue was derived by Deuteronomy. Perhaps it existed a long time without being written; for its contents chiefly consists of the most natural principles of morality, which, as Addis rightly remarks, must have descended from a prehistoric antiquity and which can have been by no means the particular feature of the legislation of Moses.

One point remains to be discussed, viz., the last words of Exodus xxiv. 28, "the ten commandments." If they belong to the insertion verses 10–28, we necessarily must extract ten precepts from these verses. This, however, is hopeless,

if we will not act on the method of selecting some words merely because they suit our purpose. Wellhausen did so (*die Comp. d. Hex.*, p. 331). He chose from the verses 12–14 "Do not make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land . . . but break down their altars . . . for thou shalt worship no foreign god, etc.," the words, "Thou shalt worship no foreign god" and supposed them to be the first of the commandments. He simply omits (without giving any argument), "Thou shalt not appear before me empty," removes the commandment about the sabbath from the text, and declares verse 23 (the precept that every *male* shall appear before Jahve) to be superfluous. In this way he gets ten commandments. It is not surprising that Professor Driver (*Introd.*, p. 39) is very cautious and does not give a decisive opinion. Other attempts are of the same character. There is no sufficient evidence in the text of xxxiv. 11–26 for the theory that these verses are an enlargement of an original decalogue. If this is to be admitted, the only possible explanation of the two last words of verse 28 is that they are a gloss. Bäntsch (*Ex.-Lev.-Num.*, p. 285) has rightly suggested that they do not belong to the original text of verse 28. After "and he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant" they are superfluous.

Originally verse 29 continued verse 10. Then verses 11–28 were interpolated by the misunderstanding of the expression "I make a covenant" in verse 10, and finally the words "the ten commandments," being a gloss of a reader who knew Deuteronomy, were inserted into the text.

So the critical inquiry into the narrative about the events at mount Sinai seems to me to prove that also the common interpretation of this part of the early history of Israel is to be revised and that the original form of the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant are to be assigned to the Mosaic period.

B. D. Eerdmans.

STUDIES IN THE PAULINE THEOLOGY.

IX. The Purpose of God.

(1) When Paul became a Christian he did not lose his Jewish belief in God as the ultimate cause and the final purpose of all things, his inheritance of the "ethical monotheism" of the prophets. The Christian salvation, which brings forgiveness, holiness, freedom, blessedness to man, and which comes through the person and work, the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ, is rooted in, and springs out of the absolute and perfect will of God. In each believer in Christ, as in the Church of Christ as a whole, the purpose of God is being fulfilled. Paul knew, and gloried in knowing that his life in Christ had its source in the very being of God Himself. Hence his tone of certainty, confidence, courage. "We know that to them that love God all things work together for good, even to them that are called according to his purpose. For whom he foreknew, he also foreordained to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren; and whom he foreordained, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified" (Rom. viii. 28–30). The same conviction is expressed in Ephesians i. 3–14, a passage in which the verbal structure altogether breaks down under the weight of the profound and comprehensive thought which the apostle is seeking to express. These two passages may serve to remind us that Paul's views about the purpose of God are not a speculative curiosity, but are closely related to his own personal experience. He could work out his own salvation with fear and trembling only because he was sure that it was God who was working in him both to will and to work for His good pleasure (Phil. ii. 12, 13).

Doubtless in developing his conception of the divine purpose in relation to nature and history, to answer the questions of an intellect which was dominated by the necessity of *thinking things together*, he went far beyond the bounds of personal experience, and some of his conclusions cannot be invested with the certainty which belongs to that personal experience. Yet in all his thinking he was not indulging in abstract speculation, but was driven by the practical necessity to meet the objections which might be offered to the Gospel which he believed and preached, and so to remove doubts and difficulties to which his own faith or the faith of others was exposed. It was in the interests of the Christian's certainty of salvation in Christ that he developed his conception of the purpose of God.

(2) The purpose of God expresses His nature. How then did Paul conceive God ? It was not necessary for him to formulate any doctrine of God ; for he could take for granted the conception of God which he believed to have been given in the Old Testament revelation of God. He assumed also the revelation of God given in Christ. God is Father. It is in Christ God so reveals Himself ; it is in Christ men receive this revelation of God. A question which has much interest for many thinkers to-day would probably have seemed meaningless to him. If he had been asked, Is God's Fatherhood *universal* or not ? he would doubtless have answered, It is only in Christ that God has made Himself known to me as Father, and it is only in Christ that I can live the life of the child of God. This is the only answer which Christian faith can give. As Father God is *love* (*ἀγάπη*). That love is shown in, and proved by the sacrifice of Christ: "God commendeth his own love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us" (Rom. v. 8). From that love no power can separate the believer. "I am persuaded

that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord" (viii. 38, 39). The disposition of the love of God in relation to sinners is *mercy* (ἔλεος). "God, being rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead through our trespasses quickened us together with Christ" (Eph. ii. 4). The scope of that *mercy* is universal; God so works in history, so deals with men that all may share it. "God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all" (Rom. xi. 32). This merciful love of God becomes personally effective in each man in God's *grace* (χάρις). "By grace have ye been saved" (Eph. ii. 5). This grace is the free action of God in man for his salvation, and it is always through Christ. "Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. iii. 24). So completely is God's grace identified with Christ that in the apostolic benediction the love of God is represented as coming in the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and bringing the communion of the Holy Ghost (2 Cor. xiii. 14).

(3) If we ask why the grace of God must thus express itself in the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, the answer lies in Paul's conception of the divine wrath (ὀργή). This doctrine has already been discussed in the *Third Study* on the *Need of Salvation*. All that needs now to be noted is that Paul conceived that the revelation of God's displeasure with, and antagonism to sin had in previous human history been partial and inadequate. In His forbearance God had passed over the sins done aforetime (Rom. iii. 25. Compare Acts xvii. 30, "The times of ignorance therefore God overlooked"). Now He reveals His wrath

(Rom. i. 18). This wrath is finally and perfectly expressed in the sacrifice of Christ which brings salvation. Mercy and wrath, grace and judgment are expressed by God in the one act of the sacrifice of Christ which redeems mankind. The *righteousness of God* includes both mercy and wrath, grace and judgment, as has already been shown in the *Fourth Study*. It does not bear merely a judicial and penal sense, although it does include *wrath* and *judgment*, but as subordinated to, because harmonized with *mercy* and *grace*. We should avoid many a misconception if we used instead of this phrase *righteousness of God* the phrase *holy love*, which makes explicit the two elements implicit in it. The holy love of God is *holy* because it expresses wrath and visits judgment on sin; but it is *love*, because it endures the wrath and judgment itself, that it may forgive and save. The purpose of God in human history is consummated in this revelation of the righteousness of God, or, to use the simpler and clearer phrase, His holy love.

(4) The first question which at once presses for an answer is, How is this revelation related to God's former revelation? From our modern standpoint the problem is not as acute as it was for Paul, who approached it not only with his Jewish, but even his Pharisaic presuppositions. For us there is only the difference between the lower and the higher stage of moral and religious development; for Paul there was the antithesis of the Law and the Gospel. He asserted the continuity of God's purpose, and so justified the consistency of God's character by offering two considerations. First of all, the Gospel was the fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham, which was antecedent to, and so could not be superseded by the law. "A covenant confirmed beforehand by God, the law which came four hundred and thirty years after, doth not disannul, so as to make the promise of none effect" (Gal. iii. 17).

Not only so, but Abraham himself, the recipient of the promise, was by his faith in the promise of God saved in the same way as are those who by faith accept its fulfilment in Christ. "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness" (Rom. iv. 3). Secondly, the law which "came in beside" discharged a necessary historical function in relation to the fulfilment of the promise. In provoking and condemning sin it made man more fully aware of his need of the grace of God, and so the law was a preparation for the Gospel (see the *Sixth Study* on the *End of the Law*). In this argument there is much that is remote from our present modes of thought. The mere priority in time of the promise to the law for us proves nothing. That the law was intended to provoke and multiply transgression is for us an altogether doubtful assumption, although we may admit that restraint of itself may be morally hurtful. The argument translated into modern terms is this, that moral discipline is necessary to fit men for the filial relationship to God, and that it is this relationship which is the end of God's dealings with men, while the preparatory discipline is but a means. If God be *holy love*, that is, the personal perfection which seeks self-communication to man, then His ultimate relation to man, which is only finally realized after much preparation, is expressed not in the Law, but in the Gospel.

(5) Granted that the Gospel as antecedent to the Law must supersede it, when it has discharged its preparatory function, the second question which emerges is this. The law was the exclusive possession of God's chosen people: the Gospel is being offered to all mankind. How can such an extension of the divine purpose be explained? Paul is again ready with his answer. "Is this blessing then pronounced upon the circumcision, or upon the uncircumcision also? for we say, To Abraham his faith was reckoned for

righteousness. How then was it reckoned ? when he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision ? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision ; and he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had while he was in uncircumcision : that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be in uncircumcision, that righteousness might be reckoned unto them and the father of circumcision to them who not only are of the circumcision, but who also walk in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham which he had in uncircumcision" (Rom. iv. 9–12). What does this mean ? Surely that the moral and spiritual disposition which welcomes the Gospel, and receives the grace of God offered in the Gospel, is not inseparable from any national organization or racial peculiarity. All men are capable of faith, and so the Gospel of the grace of God can be offered to all men. The Rabbinism of the form of Paul's argument should not hide from us its essential soundness ; it was as man, not as Jew, that Abraham believed. The Gospel appeals to a universal human capacity.

(6) An objection may suggest itself, which was not present to Paul's mind, and yet to meet which he offers us the materials. If Abraham had this capacity of faith, and the Gentiles too possess it, why in the case of Abraham's descendants according to the flesh was any interposition of the law necessary ? or if necessary for them, how can it be shown unnecessary for the Gentiles ? Among the Gentiles too Paul recognized a preparation for the Gospel similar to, if far less adequate than, that of the law for the Jew. The revelation of God was universal. Paul rebuked the idolatry of the people at Lystra by summoning them to " turn from these vain things unto the living God," who " left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave you from heaven rains and fruitful

seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness" (Acts xiv. 15–17). At Athens he declared God's immanence in and affinity with man as the reason for man's feeling after God that he might find Him (xvii. 27–28). In the first chapter of Romans he describes God's revelation of Himself in nature (verses 19–20), and in the second His revelation in conscience (verses 14, 15). He maintains that revelation to have been full enough to leave no excuse for the idolatry and corruption of heathenism, and adequate to produce the conviction of sin in the Gentiles which the law was intended to produce in the Jew. The bondage to the rudiments (or elements) of this world of the Gentiles was a state of tutelage even as that of the Jews under the law, the tutor unto Christ (Gal. iv. 1–3, iii. 24).

The study of the religions of the world does not bear out Paul's contention of so full a revelation of God, and therefore of so inexcusable an ignorance of man. It does present to us a religious evolution, in which the conception of the divine becomes more personal, spiritual, and ethical, and in which even there is a tendency to conceive the divine as unity. The modern missionary enterprise has, however, proved conclusively that no race is incapable of the moral and religious response which the Gospel of the grace of God not only demands, but evokes. Although on other grounds, we may share Paul's conviction of the universality of the Gospel, the world-wide scope of God's purpose.

(7) While recognizing a preparation for the Gospel among the Gentiles, Paul, as a pious and patriotic Jew, does not ignore or deny the historical privileges of the Jew. He answers his own question clearly and boldly: "What advantage then hath the Jew or what is the profit of circumcision? Much every way: first of all, that they were intrusted with the oracles of God" (Rom. iii. 1–2). The authority of the Old Testament as the revelation of the

mind and will of God is throughout assumed. A fuller statement of the privileges of the Jew he gives in a passage, in which the impassioned patriotism bursts into a doxology. "For I could wish that I myself were anathema from Christ for my brethren's sake, my kinsmen according to the flesh: who are Israelites; whose is the adoption and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen" (ix. 3–5). It is not necessary for the present purpose to discuss whether the doxology is in this rendering rightly ascribed to Christ or not. (See the *Second Study*.) The application of the Higher Criticism to the Old Testament need not lead us to deny this appreciation of the unique vocation and function of Israel. That this people, so blessed of God, should be refusing the Gospel, and so running the risk of their rejection by God—this was the saddest and hardest problem of the divine providence for Paul. He boldly wrestles with it in Romans ix.–xi. The writer craves the indulgence of the reader for quoting a few sentences he has elsewhere written on this subject. "The Gospel which Paul preached had been accepted by many Gentiles, but had been rejected by most Jews; this might seem a serious objection against it. If the people to whom the promises were given had not welcomed it, surely it could not be their fulfilment as it claimed to be. Or, if the Gospel was indeed the fulfilment of the promises, had not God failed to keep His word to His chosen people, whose place was now being taken by the Gentiles? If God were faithful, His fulfilment of His promises would be surely of such a kind as would commend it to those who had received the promises, and would not, as Paul's Gospel did, arouse their antagonism. But if God Himself allowed His people to be thus offended by the Gospel, His character

seemed compromised. Paul seeks to show both that his Gospel is true, even although the Jewish people as a whole has rejected it, and that their rejection does not involve God's unfaithfulness to His promises. The argument consists of three main propositions: (1) God is absolutely free to elect or reject individuals or nations according to His own will (ix. 1–29); (2) the Jewish people by its unbelief has deserved its present exclusion from the blessings of the Gospel (ix. 30–x. 21); (3) this exclusion is partial and temporary, as it is God's purpose ultimately to include both Jew and Gentile in His grace (xi.)" (*Romans* in *Century Bible*, pp. 205–6).

(8) In the first part of his argument, after affirming his impassioned patriotism in a passage already quoted, he shows how in the history of the chosen people the principle of God's unconditional election has been again and again asserted, and repels the charge of injustice by appealing to God's own words, in which He claims freedom in all his acts. While rebuking the arrogance of the creature in questioning the acts of the Creator, he blunts the edge of his argument somewhat by showing that God has used His freedom to show mercy rather than judgment. The form of the argument is not beyond criticism; Paul's exegesis cannot be accepted as strictly historical. We must confine ourselves to the substance of it, and ask ourselves whether we can accept such a doctrine of election even on his authority. We do not escape the difficulties by the assumption that Paul is here dealing with the part played by nations in history, and not the fate of individuals hereafter. The problem is undoubtedly the temporal rejection of the Jewish nation; but in his argument Paul asserts God's freedom in electing or rejecting individuals. In his phrases "vessels of wrath fitted unto destruction," and "vessels of mercy which he afore prepared unto

glory" he is concerned with individuals; it is certain he would not have accepted the limitation of the divine freedom which his modern apologists seek to impose. What we must not forget, however, is that the whole passage is an *argumentum ad hominem*. Jewish arrogance is rebuked by an appeal, not only to the Scriptures recognized as authoritative, but to the conception of God, supposed to be derived from these Scriptures, which was accepted as orthodox. It is not the Christian conception of God which dominates the discussion. It must be noted also that the argument itself breaks down. Paul has to admit that God does not use His freedom as, according to the argument, He might. He shrinks from affirming that God fitted the vessels of wrath unto destruction, and admits that God endured them with much longsuffering. He expressly declares that God prepared unto glory the vessels of mercy, and that it was to make known the riches of His glory upon these that He suffered those (verses 22, 23). The metaphor of the potter itself cancels the argument. The potter does not use the clay wilfully, but makes of each lump what it is fitted to become. The subsequent stages of the argument really cancel it. Not the will of God arbitrarily exercised is the cause of Israel's present condition, but its own unbelief. But God's purpose is not merely to punish sin or reward goodness (the ethical conception); it is to bless all (the evangelical conception). Thus does Paul himself escape from "the Jewish entanglements" by which his previous thought had been held, and into which he was sometimes forced back, to meet the thought of his opponents, into the genuinely Christian conception of God. We do not need to burden his Gospel, still less our reason and conscience, with a doctrine which sprang from and bears the marks of controversy, which he himself could not consistently maintain, and which he abandoned as he advanced to the hope his Christian faith inspired.

(9) Paul's proof that the Jews have failed through unbelief may be very briefly stated. The fact of their unbelief is due to their mistaken zeal to establish their own righteousness instead of accepting the righteousness God freely offers to Jew and Gentile alike in the Gospel, which supersedes the law, on the simple and easy condition of faith. This mistaken zeal is, however, blameworthy, as the Jews have refused to listen to the Gospel itself, and to take heed to the prophetic warnings against unbelief. It may be, if Paul had remembered how signal an act of the grace of Christ was necessary to convert himself from unbelief to faith, his judgment of his own people might have been kinder and gentler. He who is firmly convinced himself finds it hard to make due allowance for the difficulties others feel; and we may even, in regard to the apostle's argument, remind ourselves of the Master's warning, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." Especially if we recall the intolerable wrongs which Christians have inflicted on Jews, shall we gladly turn from Paul's judgment on, to his hope for, God's chosen people.

(10) The hope, which his piety and his patriotism alike inspired, he supports by an argument in four parts. (i) "At this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace" (xi. 5). Not all have fallen through unbelief. (ii) "The casting away of them is the reconciling of the world" (v. 15). It was the unbelief of the Jews which led Paul to turn from them to the Gentiles. It is not at all improbable that, if the primitive Church had been more successful in Judaism, not only would the Gentile mission have been delayed, but Jewish exclusiveness would have so asserted itself as to make that mission more difficult. (iii) "If the firstfruit is holy, so is the lump: and if the root is holy, so are the branches" (v. 16). For Paul the ancestry of the Jewish people appeared a guarantee of their

ultimate recovery. While, on the one hand, the persistency of Judaism in its racial characteristics, its constancy in belief and custom, seems to lend some force to their argument, on the other hand the antagonism between Jew and Christian has so intensified, the absorption of the Jew in secular gains has so increased that the present condition of Judaism appears rather to contradict Paul's expectations. If Israel as a whole is saved, it will not be due mainly to its heredity. (iv) "God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all" (v. 32). Paul assumes the universality of God's purpose of grace: to its fulfilment the present rejection and the final restoration of the Jews are both necessary. The disobedience of the Jews was necessary that the Gospel might be offered to the Gentiles; the faith of the Gentiles will be the means of overcoming the unbelief of the Jews. Here is prophecy which we can neither confirm nor deny. That God should desire the salvation of all mankind is a conviction rooted in our Christian faith. However improbable from our present standpoint the conversion of the Jews may appear, it is not an unreasonable hope that the nation, to which in the highest things mankind owes so much, will not as a whole be shut out from the kingdom of God. The condition of that conversion may at first sight seem even less probable. Will Christendom ever be so truly and fully Christian in its relation to the Jews as to remove probably the greatest hindrance to their faith? A Christian Church in which God's purpose is perfectly fulfilled will surely irresistibly attract God's "ancient heritage." Whether Paul's hope, which we may make our own, will be literally fulfilled or not, it is one which springs not from his Jewish patriotism alone, but also from his Christian faith.

(11) As God had chosen the Jewish people, and would not repent of His choice, so Paul believed God had chosen

the Christian Church, and in the membership of that Church the Christian believer. Paul mentions as a cause of thanksgiving " that God chose you from the beginning unto salvation in sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth " (2 Thess. iii. 13). Christians are foreknown and foreordained (Rom. viii. 29), elect (verse 33), and " called according to God's purpose " (verse 28). This is " the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord " (Eph. iii. 11) " before the foundation of the world " (i. 4). This truth is taught to give assurance to Christian faith. The relation in which the believer stands to Christ is not " the fleeting fashion of an hour," but has its source in the very being of God. It is a perversion of Paul's intention to infer from his teaching for the sake of logical consistency that as God elects some, so He reprobates others. It has already been shown how the argument of Romans ix., in which he does assert God's unconditional freedom to accept or reject individual men breaks down, and how he himself modifies and corrects it. According to his plain teaching, as in the tenth chapter, failure to be saved is due to unbelief. The individual believer's certainty that he has been chosen of God unto salvation is not to the exclusion of any other man, for God's purpose of salvation is universal. " The living God " is " the Saviour of all men " (1 Tim. iv. 10); God " willeth that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth " (ii. 4); " God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that He might have mercy upon all " (Rom. xi. 32). This is Paul's final conclusion in regard to the purpose of God. Will that purpose be absolutely accomplished? In the *previous Study* an answer was offered to that question. There are passages in Paul's writings that, taken apart, appear to teach " the larger hope " of universalism. But this hope cannot, even by an apostle's authority, even if we were

sure Paul meant to teach it, be turned into a dogma, for there are difficulties in holding it. Nevertheless the interpretation Paul does give to the purpose of God may inspire certainty, confidence, courage.

It is infinite and eternal Love which is and works in all, and through all, and over all. Human history is not left to the confusions and conflicts of men only, but is controlled by a wise, holy, and gracious will. In Jesus Christ God is made manifest, and it is His grace that is the clue to the labyrinth of life. A family of God is in the making, and even nature, with all its miseries and pains, will be transformed by the glory of God's fulfilled promise. "The creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God" (Rom. viii. 21). How and when we know not; for we walk by faith, not sight. Yet even here and now we can, as Paul did, keep our trust, and do our task better and more bravely because we have this hope. Such practical reinforcement is the justification of such speculative thought.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

II. THE MINISTRY OF THE BAPTIST.

ALL the four Evangelists agree in representing the ministry of the Baptist as a deliberate preparation made by him for the coming of another after him greater than himself. In all the Gospels the Baptist comes forward in fulfilment of the words of the prophet Isaiah: "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight (or make ready) the way of the Lord." And in all he points to Another who is to come after him, the latchet of whose shoes he

is not worthy to unloose.[1] The scene of the Baptist's preaching is the valley of the Jordan, and in the river Jordan he baptized those that came to him. In the fourth Gospel a particular place named Bethany (i. 28) is mentioned, "These things were done in Bethany beyond Jordan where John was baptizing." This particularity of statement on the part of this Evangelist is noteworthy and is easily explicable if he were himself, as the narrative seems to suggest, a disciple of John. On this point more will be said presently. But we must throughout our investigation into the question whether our Gospel does or does not show true signs of being the work of a personal disciple and eye-witness, notice particularly those points in which the author gives details, lacking in the other Evangelists, in the scenes and events described both by him and by some or all of them. We draw attention, then, at this point to the particular mention of Bethany beyond Jordan.

But we must pass now to consider the broad outlines of the story of the preaching and baptism of John in the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel.

The account given in St. Mark is very short. He tells how John came in fulfilment of the words of prophecy, and baptized in the wilderness and preached the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins. He then tells of the crowds that went to his baptism, and gives a brief description of the appearance of the Baptist, who was clothed with camel's hair and had a leathern girdle about his loins, and he adds that his food was locusts and wild honey. He mentions the Baptist's proclamation of Him who was to come after him, mightier than he, and for whom he was unworthy to perform the most menial office. This one, when he came, would confer a baptism greater than the Baptist's. For while the Baptist baptized with water,

[1] Matthew has a slightly different expression.

this greater one to come would baptize with the Holy Ghost. The Evangelist then passes on to tell of the baptism of Jesus by John. He records how, as Jesus came up out of the water, He saw the heavens rent asunder and the Spirit as a dove descending upon Him : and a voice came out of the heavens, Thou art my beloved Son, in Thee I am well pleased.

The other two Synoptists utilise Mark, and they have information to give besides, derived from some other source. St. Matthew tells of Pharisees and Sadducees coming to John's baptism, and of the Baptist's insistence in their case on a true repentance. Claims of privilege, such as "We have Abraham to our father," were insufficient. St. Luke gives this same warning of the Baptist, though he speaks of it as addressed to the multitudes. He also gives details of the Baptist's requirements from special classes who came to his baptism asking advice : What shall we do ? We may remark, too, that St. Luke represents the Baptist's reference to Him that should come after him as being made at a time when the people were in expectation, and all men reasoned in their hearts concerning John, whether haply he were the Christ.

We now turn to the account given of these things in the Fourth Gospel. We will remark first of all that while the Evangelist, like the Synoptists, finds a place in his story of the Baptist for the words of the prophet Isaiah, "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord," he does not simply say, as do the Synoptists, that the Baptist came in fulfilment of, or in accordance with, this prophecy. But he represents the Baptist as applying these words to himself. He tells of a mission sent to the Baptist from the religious leaders of the nation in Jerusalem requiring him to declare himself. The Jews, we read, sent unto him from Jerusalem priests and Levites

to ask him, Who art thou ? And he confessed and denied not ; and he confessed, I am not the Christ. And they asked him, What then ? Art thou Elijah ? And he saith, I am not. Art thou the prophet ? [1] And he answered, No. They said, therefore, unto him, Who art thou ? that we may give an answer to them that sent us. What sayest thou of thyself ? It was then that the Baptist replied : I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord.

Now we can gather from a later portion of the Synoptic narrative that the religious authorities at Jerusalem did not acknowledge the Baptist. For when they questioned the authority of Jesus to cleanse the temple, and indeed challenged Him with the question, by what authority He did these things, and He put to them the counter question, whether the baptism of John was from heaven or of men, they found themselves in a dilemma. They feared to say that it was of men because the people took John for a prophet. And if they said that it was from heaven, then Jesus would ask them, Why then did ye not believe him ? It is clear, then, that they had not believed in the mission of the Baptist. Thus this deputation to the Baptist of which we read in the Fourth Gospel is rendered a probable event by what we find recorded in another connection in the Synoptists.

And when we come to reflect on the matter, we can see that the application of the words of Isaiah to the Baptist which we find in the Synoptists is more likely than not to have been made by himself first of all rather than by others who regarded him as divinely sent. If the Baptist in his humility had made his own this appellation—a voice crying in the wilderness—we can well understand the application of it to him in the Synoptists, whereas it is not easy to

[1] For the reference here see Westcott's Commentary.

understand that those who believed in his divine mission and took him for a prophet sent by God would have applied to him a description which might seem derogatory. I find, then, in his account of the mission from Jerusalem to the Baptist, recorded by our Evangelist, a mark that we have here to do with the words of one who knew. And we shall be able, I think, to go further than this and to say that we have here the record of one who heard and saw the things which he narrates. But of this presently.

We referred above to the fact that St. Luke places the Baptist's references to Him that was mightier, and who was to come after him, at a time of expectation on the part of the people when men were questioning in their hearts whether John was the Christ. We may notice now that with this accords the narrative of the Fourth Gospel. The members of the mission sent from Jerusalem having obtained from the Baptist the confession that he was not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet, proceed to question him, and ask him why then he is engaged in baptizing. And John answered them: I baptize with water: in the midst of you standeth one whom ye know not, even He that cometh after me, the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose.

It may perhaps appear strange that the fourth Evangelist, if he had accurate knowledge of the work of the Baptist, should not mention the baptism of Jesus which all the Synoptists record. But silence on the part of a writer as to any particular event does not prove that he did not know of it, and indeed a careful reading of our Gospel seems to show that the Evangelist did know of the baptism of Jesus, and that, though he does not record it explicitly, it is very clearly implied in what he says. We read that on the day after the Baptist's reception of the deputation from Jerusalem, he saw Jesus coming unto him, and said,

Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world! This is he of whom I said, After me cometh a man which is become before me: for He was before me. And I knew Him not; but that He should be made manifest to Israel, for this cause came I baptizing with water. And John bore witness, saying, I have beheld the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven; and it abode upon Him. And I knew Him not: but He that sent me to baptize with water, He said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and abiding upon Him, the same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit. And I have seen, and have borne witness that this is the Son of God.

This section of the narrative requires careful consideration. In the first place we note that it implies all that the Synoptists say about the baptism of Jesus at the hands of John the Baptist. John bare witness, saying, I have beheld the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven, and it abode upon Him. It may be said that the Evangelist does not associate this descent of the Spirit upon Jesus with His baptism. But surely this is implied very clearly in the words that follow: He that sent me to baptize with water, He said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, the same is he that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit. The words suggest that the descent of the Spirit upon the chosen one was to take place in the course of the administration of the baptism. *He that sent the Baptist to baptize with water* had given him a sign—a sign which (as the association of ideas seems to imply) was to take place at the baptism of Him thus marked out.

Again we note that if our Evangelist says nothing of the voice from heaven which was heard at the baptism of Jesus, this, too, is implicit in his story. That voice, according to the Synoptists, had declared: This is my beloved Son,

in whom I am well pleased. And here in the Fourth Gospel we have the testimony of the Baptist: I have seen, and have borne witness that this is the Son of God. This title "Son of God" may well not have meant to the Baptist all that we read into it, but at any rate it implied Christhood or Messiahship, and the use of it by the Baptist is a faithful witness on his part to the voice from heaven, if indeed that voice had proclaimed "This is my beloved Son."

We may, then, without forcing the narrative of the Fourth Gospel, say that the baptism of Jesus, the descent of the Spirit upon Him in the form of a dove at His baptism, and the voice from heaven, declaring Him to be the Son of God, are all implicit in it. But we must face the objection that in our Gospel the Baptist says that he knew Him not until the sign was fulfilled, whereas in the narrative of Matthew John is represented as saying to Jesus, who came to be baptized by him: I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest Thou to me? But Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. This seems to show that the Baptist already knew the superiority of Jesus, knew, in fact, that He was the one to whom the Baptist had pointed, and for whom he had prepared the way.

There are two possible explanations of the difficulty which here confronts us. In the first place it might be said that it is extremely likely that the Baptist was already acquainted with Jesus, seeing that, according to St. Luke, their mothers were related to one another. The Baptist may well have been impressed by the character and personality of Jesus, and may even have had a presentiment, which was now to be converted into a certainty by the fulfilment of the sign that had been given to him, that this was indeed He for whose coming he was preparing men's hearts.

Or, secondly, it might be said that we cannot be expected to accept every statement in Matthew as true in historical detail. The Evangelist may be expressing what seemed to Christians a very proper sentiment on the part of the Baptist. Such an explanation would, I confess, be no shock to me, and would in no way upset my faith in the general reliability of the Gospel narrative. I regard the First Gospel as principally valuable to us for the sayings of Jesus which it records rather than for its statements of historical fact. And certainly I cannot discredit the very plain statement of the Baptist recorded for us in the Fourth Gospel, for I believe on other grounds that we have here the witness of a personal disciple of the Baptist. I cannot accept it as a principle of criticism of the Gospels that the Synoptists are to be preferred in every detail, and that the Fourth Gospel is to be discredited if anywhere its statements do not accord with those of the other three. The value which we attach to the Fourth Gospel will depend in large measure on whether or not we are persuaded by a careful examination of its contents as a whole that it is the testimony of one who knew, who had seen and who had heard. This is its claim, and it is this claim that we are engaged in examining and carefully weighing. We have so far made but little way in the task we have set ourselves. The conclusion which every one must form for himself will depend upon a careful examination of the whole evidence. Weak points in it, if such there seem to be, must be noted by each inquirer. An honest attempt will be made in these papers to face all the facts of the case and a purely *ex parte* statement of it will be carefully avoided. The reader has already understood that it is our object to defend the traditional authorship of the Gospel, but we would be preserved in our task from any suppression of the facts.

We now return to the narrative of the Evangelist. We

have considered the witness of John to himself as a mere Voice to proclaim One who was to come after, and we have seen him in the presence of this Other whom he declared to be the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world. I know that it has been said that this is the language of later Christian devotion and worship, and that it is an anachronism to put such a saying into the mouth of the Baptist. But there is nothing incredible to one who believes John the Baptist to have been a heaven-sent prophet to prepare the way of the Christ, that he should have had an insight, divinely given, into the sin-bearing office that this Other would have to assume.

This testimony of the Baptist to "the Lamb of God" is repeated on the following day when Jesus again walked by, as John stood with two of his disciples. And the two disciples, we are told, heard him thus speak, and they followed Jesus. And Jesus turned and beheld them following, and saith unto them, What seek ye? And they said unto him, Rabbi, where abidest Thou? He saith unto them, Come, and ye shall see. They came, therefore, and saw where He abode; and they abode with Him that day: it was about the tenth hour. We notice this particularity of statement, which is intelligible if the writer had himself a share in these events. And that he had a share in them has been surmised with good reason from the words which follow: "One of the two that heard John speak and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother." The other he does not name, and, as we have seen, it is according to his manner to preserve his own anonymity. It has been inferred, then, that the other was John himself, the writer of the Gospel.

A difficulty, however, arises at once, for it would seem from the Synoptists that the call by Jesus of John, the son of Zebedee, to discipleship came at a later time, as did also

that of Andrew and his brother Simon Peter, both of whom are associated with Jesus at this earlier stage in the Fourth Gospel. For we read that Andrew findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messiah (which is, being interpreted, Christ). And he brought him to Jesus, who looked upon him and said, Thou art Simon the son of John: thou shalt be called Cephas (which is, by interpretation, Peter).

Now this whole passage has seemed to the opponents of the Johannine authorship of the Gospel to present serious and insurmountable historical difficulties, for not only, as we have said already, does it antedate the call of Simon Peter and Andrew (and John, too, if he be intended by that other disciple), but it antedates too by a long way the recognition, by these disciples of Jesus, of His Messiahship. It is not to be denied that these are serious difficulties which must be properly faced, but I doubt whether they are as formidable as is often imagined.

Let us at first put on one side the difficulty presented by the disciples' too early acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus and consider the question of the time of their call to be disciples.

Mark's account is as follows: "And passing along by the Sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew the brother of Simon casting a net in the sea: for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And straightway they left the nets and followed him. And going on a little further, he saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, who also were in the boat mending the nets. And straightway he called them: and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired servants, and went after him." Matthew borrows his account from Mark, and adds nothing to it. The only small point of difference is that

Matthew omits mention of the hired servants. St. Luke, however, gives a much fuller account of the call of these disciples at the sea of Galilee and places it in connection with a miraculous draught of fishes (St. Luke v. 1–11). I think it cannot be denied that the fuller narrative of St. Luke here is to be preferred to the very cursory and, as it stands, hardly intelligible account given by Mark, and copied by Matthew. It seems extremely unlikely that Jesus was unknown to Peter before the call at the sea of Galilee to become a fisher of men. Indeed in St. Luke the order of events is so given that the healing of Simon's wife's mother in the house of Simon precedes the call associated in that Gospel with the miraculous draught of fishes. It is true that in Mark the order of events is reversed, and the healing of Peter's mother-in-law follows the call by the sea of Galilee. Historical probability is, however, all in favour of some previous acquaintance of Peter with the Master before he would be ready to obey the call to follow Him and to become a fisher of men, and the account given in Mark of these things is altogether too scrappy to enable us to get a true perspective of the progress of events.

We may say, then, that the Synoptic narratives, collectively considered, do not exclude the possibility of a prior acquaintance of Peter and Andrew and James and John with Jesus before their call by the sea of Galilee; and this acquaintance may not have been lacking in intimacy; and an informal discipleship and partial companionship may well have preceded the final call which followed upon the miraculous draught of fishes. Then the disciples threw in their lot with Jesus to be trained by Him to become fishers of men.

Apart from the fact that St. Luke in his account places the healing of Simon's mother-in-law before the call at the lake, an order of events, however, reversed in Mark,

we may observe that the reply of Peter to Jesus, when the command to let down the nets was given, suggests previous knowledge of and confidence in Jesus : " Master, we have toiled all night, and took nothing, but at thy word I will let down the nets."

So, then, we cannot discredit the Fourth Gospel on the ground that it brings these future apostles into a position of discipleship under Jesus in the neighbourhood of the Jordan and before the ministry in Galilee. But there is the further difficulty. It has been objected that the recognition and confession of the Messiahship of Jesus on the part of these disciples in the Fourth Gospel is premature. It is said that according to the Synoptists this recognition did not come until a later stage, when Peter made his great confession at Cæsarea Philippi (Mark viii. 27, Matt. xvi. 13, Luke ix. 18). And further, it is pointed out that when the confession was made, Jesus strictly charged his disciples not to make it known that He was the Christ, whereas in the Fourth Gospel the claim to Messiahship is everywhere prominent and public.

Now if it be the case, as the Fourth Gospel represents it to be, that some of the first disciples of Jesus were led to Him by the influence of the Baptist, who directed them to Jesus as the One for whose coming he had been preparing, it is almost inconceivable that, even at that early stage, there should not have been some sort of recognition, or at any rate hope, of His Messiahship. Surely the Baptist knew that he had come to prepare the way for the Messiah, nor did he make any secret of the fact. And the story of the baptism of Jesus as we have it in the Synoptists finds a place for the assertion of His Messianic office ; for the voice from heaven proclaims Him to be the Son of God, which title at least implied Messiahship, whatever further depth of meaning it might contain. There is, of course, the question :

For whom was this voice meant? Who heard it? It is not quite clear from the narratives of Mark and Matthew whether it was Jesus or John who saw the spirit like a dove descend, and it is not said who heard the voice, but only that there was a voice. In Mark the voice addresses Jesus: Thou art My beloved Son, in Thee I am well pleased. In Matthew it speaks of, but not to, Jesus: This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. St. Luke makes the voice address Jesus, but he does not say who heard it, nor who saw the Spirit. He merely says that the heaven opened and the Holy Spirit came down in bodily form like a dove upon him, and a voice came out of heaven: Thou art My beloved Son, etc.

According to the Fourth Gospel it was the Baptist who saw the Spirit descend on Jesus, and there is no reason to suppose that any other bystanders witnessed the sign. It was for the Baptist; and it must have been from him that the story of the baptism of Jesus came. He saw and he bore witness that this was the Son of God (John i. 34). It is a mistake to suppose that this title thus applied to Jesus at this early stage in the Fourth Gospel goes beyond anything which we find at the corresponding stage in the Synoptists. In their pages Jesus is declared thus early to be the Son of God, and there is no suggestion that this was a title to be kept secret. Nor is there anything at all improbable in the statement of the Fourth Evangelist that the Baptist testified that he had seen the sign of the descent of the Spirit like a dove, and that he bore witness to the Son of God.

Is it unlikely, then, we ask, that some of the disciples of the Baptist, having been thus directed by him to Jesus, should have gone over to Him in the belief that He was the Messiah? If Andrew believed the testimony of the Baptist, would it not be quite natural that he should say to his brother Simon, as in the Fourth Gospel he is represented as

saying, We have found the Messiah ? As yet he believes Him to be the Messiah only on the testimony of another. His is at present a discovery of hope rather than an assurance of faith, which could only come later on when he had learnt to know his Master. Perhaps those first disciples were too ready at first to call Jesus Messiah without realising what it meant. And we find Jesus almost rebuking Nathanael for a too hasty confession. When Philip brought Nathanael to Jesus, who showed by His words addressed to Nathanael that He knew what he had been doing and of what he had been thinking and perhaps also reading, Nathanael is so struck by this that he acknowledges that Philip must have been right when he said to him, We have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write. He too readily confesses : Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God ; Thou art King of Israel. Then comes what sounds like a rebuke from Jesus : Because I said unto thee, I saw thee under the fig tree, believest thou ? Thou shalt see greater things than these. And then he adds, and the plural pronoun seems to show that the words, though addressed to Nathanael, were meant not for him alone but for his fellow-disciples too : Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye shall see the heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man. So, then, until they knew Jesus to be the true link between earth and heaven, the one Mediator between God and man, they were incapable of making a full confession of faith. If their hope was already set on Him, they must pass through much discipline and experience before they could be said to know Him.

We may say, then, that the faith of these early disciples of Jesus, who had passed to Him from the Baptist, was, at this early stage, of a very elementary character, and I do not think that if the first chapter of our Gospel be carefully

read, it can be said that the Evangelist represents it as otherwise. There is plenty of room left for development, and that could only come by their personal intercourse with the Master. What gives special value to the great confession of St. Peter at the later stage is that it proceeds from personal knowledge. He is not repeating what another has said to him. Flesh and blood have not revealed it to him, but the Father in heaven. It is an act of personal faith, proceeding from personal knowledge and experience. This could not be said of these confessions, really little better than expressed hopes, which are recorded in the first chapter of St. John. They are worthy to be recorded, not because of what they were then, but because of what they developed into later.

It may perhaps seem useless to speculate why our Lord should have made use of the figure of the ladder in His conversation with Nathanael, but something may be said on this point in passing. It would appear from the conversation that Nathanael's thoughts had been running on the patriarch Jacob. It is difficult otherwise to understand the bearing of the greeting of Jesus : Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile, and Nathanael's answer, which seems to show that Jesus had read what was going on in his mind, Whence knowest thou Me ? We learn from what follows that Nathanael had been sitting under a fig tree when Philip called him, and Nathanael was as much, if not more astonished that Jesus knew this than that He was able to read his thoughts. What was Philip doing under the fig tree ? Possibly he had been engaged in meditation or in reading, and the subject that occupied him may well have been the story of Jacob. Such a supposition—it is but a conjecture after all—gives unity to the whole incident and would explain our Lord's reference to Jacob's ladder, to which it hardly admits of doubt that His words

(i. 51) do refer. This underlying unity may seem fanciful. It was suggested to me many years ago by one who has now been long dead. The impression it made upon me as in itself very likely is as strong now as it was then.

I do not propose in this paper to discuss the point, referred to above, which is made against the Fourth Gospel, namely, that the Messiahship of Jesus is so much to the fore and so widely talked about, whereas in the Synoptists Jesus is represented as urging silence on the point. It is an objection which does not properly concern us here, and it will be best to reserve it for consideration at a later stage. But we shall do well before closing this paper to say something about the story of the ministry of the Baptist as given by our Evangelist, regarding it, as we shall now do, as proceeding from one who had himself been a disciple of the Baptist, from whom he passed to become a disciple of Jesus.

Indeed the whole point of view taken by the Evangelist seems to me to be that of a disciple who honoured and reverenced his master, and that not blindly, but with a real appreciation of his powers and of his limitations. He gave up this his first master to follow and to be taught by Another, but he remembers the former one with gratitude and affection. He recognises that the Baptist was divinely sent, but he was not the light, nor did he claim to be what he was not. He bore witness of the light, and faithfully directed men away from himself to that Other for whom he came to prepare the way. He confessed, and denied not—there is no wavering, no uncertainty, no self-seeking—he confessed, I am not the Christ.

It is this same Evangelist who records the noble words of the Baptist spoken when he was confronted by the growing popularity of Jesus: "A man can receive nothing, except it have been given him from heaven. Ye yourselves bear me witness that I said, I am not the Christ, but that I am

sent before Him. He that hath the bride is the bridegroom: but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy, therefore, is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease" (iii. 27–30).

What our Evangelist tells us of the Baptist does not, then, concern his outward appearance, nor his meat and drink, nor does he say anything of the crowds that came to him. He tells rather how the Baptist led some of his disciples away from himself to follow Another. His theme is the testimony of the Baptist to the Christ. He is not ashamed to have given up his first master to follow that Other, because for this very purpose had he been a disciple of the Baptist, that by him he might be led on to become a disciple of Jesus. From the Synoptists we learn nothing of how some of the Baptist's disciples became disciples of Jesus. But if the work of the Baptist was what the Synoptists declare it to have been, namely, to prepare the way for the Christ, it is hardly conceivable that this work, faithfully carried out, could have failed of this result —to supply disciples for Him. The first chapter of the Fourth Gospel shows the Baptist making this supply, and he who wrote it was, I believe, one who passed to discipleship under Jesus through the faithful witness borne to Him by the Baptist. He had learnt what the Baptist had to teach him, which was to follow Jesus. By transferring his allegiance to the new Master he was really continuing, in the only true way, his allegiance to the old.

It is one of the objections urged by Schmiedel against the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel that the picture which it gives of the Baptist and his ministry does not accord with historical probability. In the Fourth Gospel, he says,[1] the Baptist knows not only the superior

[1] See his pamphlet in the series *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*

dignity of Jesus as does Matthew (the reference here being of course to the Baptist's protest, "I have need to be baptized of Thee," which Schmiedel regards perhaps with good reason as a later addition to the original story) and that He was destined to be the redeemer of the whole world, but also his previous life with God in heaven (St. John i. 15, 30). The task of the Baptist, then, is exclusively confined to bearing witness to Jesus. Not for a moment has his baptism value for those who have a share in it; he practises it only that he may be able to witness for Jesus. There is no mention anywhere of his preaching of repentance. His later question, whether Jesus were the Messiah, would, therefore, be altogether impossible, for he would then be guilty of a sinful doubt respecting that which had been revealed to him by God. According to the original account of the Synoptists, on the other hand, he knew nothing up to this time which put him into a position to decide this question (for Schmiedel considers the voice at the baptism to have been addressed to, and heard only by, Jesus). In short, he says, instead of a strong, though in its spiritual outlook limited personality, worthy of honour in His tragic death, the Fourth Gospel exhibits nothing but a secondary figure endowed with supernatural knowledge, but wanting in colour true to life, who merely has to serve to reveal the majesty of Jesus.

I consider that these objections are in large part answered by what has been already said of the Evangelist's point of view in recording the Baptist's ministry. It is perfectly true that the interest, for the Evangelist, of the Baptist is in the witness he bore to the Christ. This witness had, indeed, as we believe, been the first step towards the writer's discipleship with Jesus. But Schmiedel overstates his case

entitled *Das Vierte Evangelium gegenüber den drei ersten*, p. 64. I have given a somewhat free rendering of his words.

when he lays so much stress on the supernatural knowledge of the Baptist, and certainly when he says that the Baptist knew of the previous life of Jesus with God in heaven. The Baptist's witness as recorded by our Evangelist runs (i. 15) : This was He of whom I said, He that cometh after me is become before me : for He was before me (ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν). And again in verse 30 : This is He of whom I said, After me cometh a man (ἀνήρ) which is become before me, for He was before me. To interpret these sayings, as Schmiedel does, as if they evidenced the Baptist's knowledge of the previous life of God in heaven, is to make the thought of the prologue of the Gospel the thought of the Baptist, instead of the ripe belief of the Evangelist himself. It seems fitting to quote the words of the late Bishop Westcott [1] : " ' After ' and ' before ' are both used in a metaphorical sense from the image of progression in a line. He who comes later in time comes ' after,' and he who advances in front shows by that his superior power. The supposed reference to the pre-existence of the Word, as if the Baptist said, ' He that cometh after me in respect of my present mission hath already been active among men before I was born ' seems to be inconsistent with the argument, which points to a present consequence (*is now come*) *to be*, of an eternal truth (*He was before me*)."

Then next, Schmiedel considers that the Baptist's knowledge of the Messianic dignity of Jesus, as represented in St. John, is inconsistent with the message of inquiry recorded in the Synoptists : Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another ? But it is surely a mistake to imagine that this question proves that the Messiahship of Jesus was something which had not engaged his mind before, something as to which he had had no information hitherto. The very answer of Jesus, " Blessed is he whosoever shall

[1] Commentary on St. John.

not be offended in Me " points to the fact that the Baptist's faith was being sorely tried as he lay in his prison. And what otherwise, we ask, would be the meaning of the question of Jesus after the disciples of John had departed—What went ye out into the wilderness to see, a reed shaken with the wind ? It is surely true to experience that the spiritual enlightenment of one period of life seems insufficient at a later time of deep spiritual depression and that he who experiences this is ready to seek for fresh assurances of his former certainty, which has become dimmed.

Something has already been said on the question, To whom was the voice at the baptism of Jesus audible ? Schmiedel considers that it was heard by Jesus only. But the Synoptists, if they do not state that it was so, certainly do not exclude the possibility that the voice was audible to the Baptist. And I can see nothing at all unlikely in the testimony which the Baptist gives, according to the fourth Evangelist, respecting the sign of the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus.

If it had been the purpose of our Evangelist to write a history of the Baptist's ministry, then, knowing what we do of this from the Synoptists, we should say that he had failed. But, as it is, his purpose was to give the Baptist's witness to Jesus as the Christ, which witness had meant all that it had done for the Evangelist himself. In this he has certainly not failed ; nor is there, so far as I can see, in the narrative portion of the first chapter of our Evangelist anything which goes beyond the bounds of historical probability. Indeed the more I consider it, the more probable does the whole story become, filling up, as it does, what are undoubtedly gaps in the Synoptic narrative, and affording us an explanation of the story of the baptism of Jesus in the other three Gospels. If our account of the matter be correct, then that story goes back to the testimony of the Baptist himself.

E. H. Askwith.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

IX. Two Examples of the False Teachers.

In 1 Timothy i. 20 two individual false teachers, Hymenaeus and Alexander, are mentioned, and Paul's condemnation of them is described; but the brevity of the allusion is such that doubt might be felt whether it is as false teachers or for some totally different cause that they are mentioned here. But the doubt is unnecessary. The false teachers and the antidote to their influence on the Asian congregations is the guiding thought throughout the Epistle; and it continually recurs to Paul's mind, without any formal connexion with the preceding thought. Moreover, Hymenaeus is again mentioned in 2 Timothy ii. 17 as a false teacher, and the doctrine which he and Philetus taught is described briefly: "who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some." This is evidently a popular-philosophical explanation of the idea of the resurrection, an idea which seemed so irrational and absurd to the ordinary Gentiles, that Festus called Paul a fool for speaking about it seriously, and the Athenian audience in the Court of Areopagus, when he mentioned it, either mocked or politely postponed the further hearing to some remote and more convenient time.[1] Inevitably, the Christianized Hellenes must have begun to speculate, to theorize and to frame philosophic explanations of this doctrine, which was to them so incomprehensible, almost as soon as they became Christians. One such rationalistic explanation is alluded to in the *Acta of Paul*

[1] I cannot feel any doubt that this is the right interpretation. There was no real intention to hear the argument again; postponement, when a preacher is speaking by invitation and has not yet finished his discourse, is equivalent to condemnation.

and Thekla as being current in Paul's lifetime and reprobated by him; viz., that the resurrection of the dead is merely an expression for the continuity of the household, and that the parent lives again in the children. This explanation is so natural and so much in accordance with the old religious thought of Asia Minor,[1] that it was sure to be suggested in Christian circles at a very early date, and the statement of the *Acta* that it was current during the life of Paul probably preserves a true tradition.

What was the exact form of allegory or theory by which Hymenaeus explained away the resurrection into some idea that was embraced in the shallow philosophy current in educated society of that period, is not specified by Paul. Timothy knew the teaching which he had in mind, and therefore there was no need to describe it more fully. Here we need not offer any conjecture about it. It is sufficient to recognize that it belonged to a type of philosophic theorizing which must have been current at the earliest period in the Hellenic congregations; and that it was just the sort of teaching which was likely to be in the mouths of the class of false teachers whom we have described.

Paul's treatment of Hymenaeus and Alexander was stern: "whom I delivered unto Satan that they might be taught not to blaspheme." What is the meaning of this penalty, which is so remote from our way of thinking and speaking? Probably it expresses an idea which is alien to modern and western minds, and can hardly be understood by us; but we can see at least part of what was meant. The often-discussed

[1] "Life subject apparently to death, yet never dying, but reproducing itself in new forms, different and yet the same. . . . This annihilation of death through the power of self-reproduction was the object of the enthusiastic worship of Asia Minor. . . . The parent is the child . . .; they seem to men different; religion teaches that they are the same, that death and birth are only two aspects of one idea, and that the birth is only the completion of the incomplete apparent death." See *Luke the Physician and Other Studies in the History of Religion* (1908), pp. 205–206.

passage, 1 Corinthians v. 3–5, refers to a similar penalty, but the manner of it is, if possible, more obscure: the penalty in that case was inflicted, not on a false teacher, but on one who had been guilty of an extremely gross moral offence. "For I, at all events, being absent in body but present in spirit, have already, as if really present, formed the decision in respect of him that hath so wrought this thing, in the name of the Lord Jesus, you being gathered together and my spirit, in association with the power of the Lord Jesus, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord."

In both cases it is important to observe that the punishment is not merely vindictive, but reformatory: its purpose is "that the spirit may be saved," "that they might be disciplined not to blaspheme." The means of punishment is through bodily suffering and even death. The phrase "for the destruction of the flesh" in the one case shows what sort of discipline is indicated in the other. The analogy to a common usage in the religious and social custom of Asia Minor is so close and evident, that we cannot neglect it. Paul and his readers knew this custom too well to miss the likeness. He must have been conscious of it, and they must have recognized it in his words. One who had sinned against the God or the Goddess was punished with some disease (usually fever) or some bodily suffering or loss of some part, and no cure was possible until the sin was admitted and expiated. Numerous "confessions," inscribed on stone and deposited in or near the sanctuaries of Asia Minor, have been found, which record the sin, the suffering, the repentance, the pardon, and the acknowledgment of the Divine power and law.[1]

[1] See a series of papers in the *Expository Times*, Oct., 1898, to Jan., 1899; also Expositor, March, 1900, p. 212.

The analogy, though striking, is not complete. In the first place the pagan belief was that the deity interfered and punished the sin. Paul and the Church,[1] in association with the power of God made manifest to mankind, consigned the criminal to Satan. But here we must recognize that Satan is merely the instrument which the power of God employs to chastise and to teach the criminal: the criminal is not placed eternally under Satan's power, but only for a season and for a purpose.

In the second place, Paul acts with authority and power: he calls in the power of evil, and hands over the criminal to that power: it is true that he does this in the name and under the authority of Jesus, but he appears to the eyes of men as the agent, and the power of Jesus is an unseen influence acting through him and with him. In the pagan custom either some person who has suffered through the criminal's act invokes the god, or the god acts on his own initiative: no human being has any power or authority: that belongs to the god alone, and any man who intervenes does so as a suppliant. This is a real and deep difference; but it stands in close relation to the most striking feature in the Apostles' conduct: they always speak and act with authority: they always claim to be armed with the Divine power "in the name of Jesus." You can never escape from this claim: the Apostles act as wielding superhuman power in virtue of the commission and charge of God. You cannot eliminate this superhuman element from the New Testament: it is implicated in the structure and spirit of every book and every letter. Even though you may reject the book of the

[1] No mention is made in 1 Tim.i. 20 of the Church or of Jesus as associating themselves with the action of Paul; but the fact that Paul mentions only his own action constitutes no proof that the others were not co-operating with him: it may be assumed as a matter of course that σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ was as true in the one case as in the other; and, if Paul passes in silence over the co-operation of Jesus, it is quite possible that the Church also is omitted: the facts were familiar to Timothy.

Acts and so get rid of such a punishment as Paul inflicted on Bar-Jesus at Paphos, you find him claiming to act with the same power at Corinth and at Ephesus. In short, you must either deny the whole, or accept the whole.[1] A non-miraculous Gospel cannot be found by any process of elimination of parts.

Paul claims this superhuman power, not as his own, only as a trust confided to him in so far as the Spirit of God fills him and speaks through him. But he does lay claim to the possession of such power. In estimating its character, we must remember the difference of circumstance between Oriental life and our modern, western, and northern situation. We must bear in mind the much more impressionable nature of ordinary men in that Levantine world, their susceptibility to demoniac influence, the power which climate, sun, sickness and fever, and many other conditions exercise over them. Much is experienced among them at the present day, which would be incredible in our cooler and more self-reliant personalities. Their impressionability produces a far keener physical sympathy, so that one mind can act on another more powerfully. But still, with all these allowances and admissions, you cannot escape the miraculous, superhuman element throughout the New Testament. Power is the keynote throughout; and, if you neglect that, you ignore the fundamental fact in the Christian teaching, and inevitably miss its true character.

We need not speculate whether Alexander, who is mentioned here, is identical with "Alexander the coppersmith," who "did me much wrong; the Lord will render to him

[1] This does not, it need hardly be said, imply that every episode and verse in the New Testament is equally certain and authoritative. Variations in degree of authoritative character occur. Some episodes do not rest on such good testimony as others. The Gospels are not free from traces of the age when they were written, though these are few. To distinguish these later elements is the function of a sane and unprejudiced criticism, which as yet has not been consistently applied.

according to his works" (2 Tim. iv. 14). The identity is not impossible; but the word "coppersmith" is more probably added to distinguish this man from the other Alexander who was one of the false teachers.[1] In any case the false teacher, who was a member of the Ephesian Church, must be distinguished from Alexander the Jew, evidently not a Christian, who is mentioned in Acts xix. 33. The name was extremely common, and was specially favoured by Jews in the Greek Hellenic cities. Those who regard it as too strange a coincidence that there should be in the Christian Church at Ephesus two persons named Alexander, both of whom opposed Paul, though evidently in different ways, may either identify them, or suppose that the coppersmith belonged to a different town. Timothy was left in charge, not only of Ephesus, but doubtless of all the Asian congregations.

X. The Chief of Sinners.

Here, where we regard only historical evidence and treat only historical questions, the religious side of these wonderful words in i. 16, "sinners, of whom I am chief," does not concern our present purpose. There are no four consecutive words in Paul's writings that throw more light on his character, none which more deserve to be carefully pondered over than these. They have been best understood and most valued by those who have the truest religious feeling. But in this place it is unsuitable and needless to do more than point out what astounding incapacity to understand religious feeling is shown by those who argue that the idea, "sinners, of whom I am chief," is unlike Paul, and can only be the exaggerated imitation of 1 Corinthians xv. 9 by some pretender. One is prompted to ask how we can look for sympathetic understanding of Paul's writings from critics to whom the

[1] In 1 Tim. i. 20 the association with Hymenaeus is in itself sufficiently distinctive.

religious feeling is so alien. How can such unsympathetic minds appreciate Paul, or give any illuminating criticism or trustworthy judgment as to what is or is not his work ?

One must feel that it is an inconsistent and untenable position to suppose that this letter was written by some person who wished to clothe himself with the authority of Paul in order to acquire more influence in condemning the false teachers of his own later age, and yet that this person, assuming falsely such authority, would make Paul speak of himself as the chief of sinners. How could he think that it would increase the weight of the letter with the Christians of his later age to put such a self-condemnatory phrase in the supposed Paul's mouth ? Had he so carefully thought out the imposture as to invent a touch of religious feeling, which has gone direct to the heart of thousands ? Who can invent such a wonderful expression of religious emotion except one who feels it in himself ? and how can an impostor feel it in his assumed character ? and how could the impostor so accurately gauge the character of his readers as to know that they would recognize in this the character of Paul ? and was the ordinary Christian of the second century capable of understanding Paul so well as to appreciate this extremely able assumption of his character ? That is a series of improbabilities too great for any one to face. The only path open to those who deny the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles is the one which those scholars have as a rule taken, viz., to suppose that the later author who assumed the personality of Paul, while he was ignorantly and irrationally exaggerating and distorting a saying of the great Apostle's, blundered into the accidental creation of one of the great religious thoughts—one which has ever since been quoted and cherished by religious minds with grateful hope. It is a necessary accompaniment of this theory that the writer who blundered into the wonderful thought expressed

in those words was as blind and insensitive to their religious character as the modern theorists are.

The only other alternative would be to suppose that the unknown forger was by nature and character more Pauline in some of his thoughts than Paul, and that he occasionally penetrated deeper into the mystery of religious emotion than Paul did; but no one is likely ever to maintain or imagine that such a thing is possible. Such a personality would be too powerful to remain hidden in three pseudonymous Epistles, and would have influenced his age far too strongly to be forgotten. The modern theorists tacitly reject such a supposition, for they maintain that the later author was consciously imitating and really spoiling a true Pauline saying.

In every direction, the theory of false authorship of these four words breaks down, for any one who can appreciate their religious quality. And literary criticism loses all reason, and wanders into a pathless jungle of fancies, unless it proceeds on the principle that a great illuminative or creative saying is to be credited to the author who wrote it as the result of his own genius, and not to be reckoned as the result of his blundering exaggeration of some other person's words. What would be left of Aeschylus or Plato, if their deepest thoughts are regarded as the accidental result of bad and ignorant imitation? Such a principle of criticism is seen to be too ludicrous, when it is applied to other writers. What justification is there for applying it to the writer of this Epistle? A great thought well expressed must be credited to intention and not to chance error. One may guess at truth, but one does not blunder into truth.

The other class of theorists, who find in the Pastoral Epistles some genuine scraps of Pauline writing mixed up with work by a later hand, might explain i. 16 as a Pauline fragment; but most of them regard it as of later, non-

Pauline character, and thus fall under the same condemnation as the advocates of entire forgery. Knoke, however, has the merit of recognizing this passage as Pauline, though his extraordinarily complicated theory of two different Pauline letters mixed up in scraps with one another and with non-Pauline interpolations will never be accepted by any one except himself. His analysis is, however, interesting and suggestive.

XI. The Object of Prayer in the Public Assembly.

Paul first of all gives some advice about the manner of public worship, not in its entirety, but only in regard to the prayers which should be offered by the congregation. He regards it as a matter of primary importance that the common prayers in the assembly should include the whole human race. There is to be no narrowing of their scope to the Church. The benefit of the whole world in which we live, "that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth," should be prayed for by the Saints in every public meeting. The importance attached to this wide charity suggests that some question had arisen as to the scope of Christian prayer. In Ephesians vi. 18 prayer "for all the saints" is advised. Here a wider and nobler outlook dictates the instruction.

Now, inasmuch as after Ephesians was written, and before this letter to Timothy was composed, there had occurred the terrible events of A.D. 64, when the Christians were treated as monsters and enemies of mankind and the hatred of the Roman mob was roused against them, we can readily understand why Paul now thinks it so important to command that all men should be embraced in the prayers of the congregation. The same fact explains why he immediately adds, "for sovereigns and all that are in high place." You should "pray for them which despitefully use you." There

was now great need to emphasize this principle, which the persecution of A.D. 64 might tempt the Christians to forget. Hence a rule is prescribed for this part of the Church service, though the other parts of the service are not mentioned, being assumed as sufficiently known and appreciated.

The purpose of the prayers for all the world and for the governing power is that the Church may have the peace and tranquillity which are favourable to its rapid development and therefore to the ultimate good of all men. The thought is allied to the view taken in 2 Thessalonians, chapter ii., that the Imperial power stood between the Church and anarchy, protecting it for the time, though destined ultimately to ally itself with the powers of evil against the Church.[1] The end was not yet. Peace and order must always be the object of the Church's desire and prayers. For the present the Emperor was the sovereign, and as such the Church prayed for him. The salvation of the world still depended on the continuance of his authority, which was a condition of the preservation of tranquillity. Later, he should pass away, and a new sovereignty be substituted for him, the sovereignty of the Church of God. Von Soden has a note which shows strange misapprehension of this passage, and he has found followers : he thinks that it would be selfish to pray for tranquillity, and tries to make out that the tranquil and quiet life is not the object of the Church's prayers, but only of Paul's exhortation to pray. In opposition to this opinion, we have attempted to show that a prayer for tranquillity was a prayer for the good of all men and for the spread of knowledge of the truth.

XII. The Manner and Order of Public Prayer.

The bearing of the next verses, ii. 8–10, causes difficulty.

[1] The meaning of this enigmatic passage in 2 Thessalonians is more fully discussed in the *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 284 ff.

These words were written with the scene to which they referred clearly pictured before the mind alike of the writer and of his correspondent. It is precisely because they presuppose this perfect acquaintance with the situation in all its details that they are to us obscure and easily open to several interpretations. We have to reproduce before our minds the scene as Paul and Timothy knew it, and if we could do that, then forthwith the words would become clear and their meaning indisputable; but it is difficult for us to reconstruct the scene, because the subject is obscure and the evidence extremely scanty.

The critical and decisive question which arises first of all, is whether Paul here is thinking of a scene in the assembly where the leader or priest is uttering a prayer and the rest of the congregation is silent, or of a general prayer in which all take part alike. Until that question is answered the interpretation of the passage is involved in confusion and uncertainty. Yet none of the commentators whom I have consulted determines or even proposes the question. Several of them either use ambiguous language which can be understood equally well of common prayer and of prayer uttered by one person on behalf of all, or speak in one sentence as if they held the former view and in another as if they favoured the latter: others definitely take the view that one man prays and the rest keep silence (except, of course, to utter the universal Amen at the conclusion), apparently without having thought of the other alternative.

When the question is thus fairly and clearly put, it seems hardly possible to avoid the answer that Paul has before his mind a scene of general, common, congregational prayer, in which all join equally. The subject of this common prayer is described in verses 1 f. Then the manner is described in verses 8 f. The balancing against one another of "the men" in verse 8 and of "women" in verse 9 sug-

gests, though certainly it does not definitely prove, that Paul was thinking of an assembly in which the two sexes were not mingled together indiscriminately, but the men stood apart from women. The two groups are conceived as acting "in like manner." This word (ὡσαύτως), coming emphatically as the opening word of the sentence, loses all power and emphasis, and becomes practically meaningless, when the scene is pictured after the fashion in which some commentators understand it, "that the men pray, and that in like manner women dress themselves simply": in fact, this is merely a disjointed collocation of two unconnected ideas, in which the word "in like manner" has no force. The necessary and inevitable sense of this word is that the whole body of women is to be understood as affected by what has been said about the men.

Then Paul, assuming by the word "in like manner" all that has just been said as to prayer, adds further regulations about the conduct and appearance of the women. He was always anxious and troubled about the latter; he felt that the reputation of the Church in pagan society, together with the future development of Christian society, depended largely upon them. Both early habit in Tarsus,[1] a thoroughly Oriental city, and reasoned experience during life, confirmed his strong opinion that it was unwise and dangerous for Christian women to go far outside of the conventions and current views as to propriety which were accepted in the Graeco-Roman world around them. A certain degree of progress was right. The Christian woman then was freer than the Jewess. In the Christian con-

[1] On the strict custom as to complete veiling of women which prevailed at Tarsus—a custom previously unknown to but highly approved by Dion Chrysostom (when he visited Tarsus about 112 A.D.): he had been accustomed to Hellenic cities, where women were not veiled, though they were treated as distinctly inferior creatures—see *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 202 (Hodder & Stoughton, 1907).

gregation women occupied a higher, freer and more honourable position than they had in Greek society. In the less Hellenized cities of Asia Minor women enjoyed more liberty and influence than in the Greek cities; the early Church followed this more liberal and enlightened practice; and the Christian ideal is expressed by the Apostle to the Galatians iii. 28, "Christ is the sum of all who believe in Him; He takes them all into Himself; He admits no distinction of nationality or of rank or of sex; all are placed on an equality and made one in Him."[1] This was the ultimate aim and end of Christian society; but to grasp at it prematurely was to sacrifice it; slavery of men and subjection of women would disappear in the perfect Church; but the Christian slave must accept his lot at the moment, and women must act in general accordance with the social ideas of their city and their time.

Paul's advice about women, therefore, always varies between the ideal and the actual; early habit made him tend to emphasize the latter side; and ardent feminists will consider that he emphasized it far too much. In this sentence the phrase "in like manner" expresses something of the ideal, but all the rest is devoted to the emphasizing of the actual and practical conditions. The men should pray with pure hands raised to heaven, and in like manner the women (i.e. should pray); but immediately comes in the thought of the existing social conditions, and the sentence proceeds to caution them against too much attention to dress and adornment; in the Church assembly, the best way of attaining to the ideal is to attend to the inner character and not to the outer appearance.

Thus both the verbal fact (the use of ὡσαύτως) and the Pauline spirit make us reject the idea that Paul's sole intention here is to assign the duty of praying to the men and to

[1] *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 386.

confine the attention of women in Church to looking after the character of their dress. Prayer is a part of the Church service in which all join.

Paul's advice about public service in every assembly of the congregation (ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ) is confined to the subject and spirit and manner of the common prayer. He has nothing to say about praise, or about preaching (except to forbid women absolutely to teach, by which undoubtedly he means public teaching in the assembly, 1 Tim. ii. 12, and certainly does not refer to teaching in the home, which he regarded as a most important element in the development of Christian character, 2 Tim. i. 5). He never mentions the prophesying and other forms of inspired utterance, which indubitably formed an important part of the proceedings in the public assembly. On the other hand in 1 Thessalonians v. 12–20, where he is giving similarly a body of general advice to a young congregation, the only reference which he makes to the duty of assembling in common worship is to utter a caution against depreciating and belittling the inspired utterances of individuals. It would be as absurd to suppose that, when writing to the Thessalonians, Paul had not yet attained to the idea that common prayer should be made in the assembly, as to infer that he now in the Epistle to Timothy regards prophesying and ecstatic utterances as unsuitable or unimportant, because he does not allude to them when prescribing rules of conduct for the public assembly. We observe that he never mentions the common meal or the breaking of bread throughout this Epistle; yet no one doubts that, at whatever time the Epistle was written, those acts were habitual and most important parts of the congregational life.

The truth is that Paul, who was writing a letter, not a treatise, mentioned only what presented itself to his mind as of urgent consequence; and at the moment the custom

and order of common prayer was most urgent in the Asian congregations: "first of all I exhort" (where importance, not time, is the principle of order). Doubtless, its importance was as a preventive of the evil that might be caused by false teaching: this regular common prayer was the best means of ensuring "a tranquil and quiet life in all godliness and gravity" under the established law and order of the State; and such a life was less exposed to danger from the wild speculation and rash theorizing of the false teachers. Discipline and order were the best safeguard.

Now in this common prayer there was no prescribed form of words. Clement of Rome, in writing to the Corinthians about thirty years later, gives a specimen in his sections 59–61 of what might be said in such prayers, and I cannot doubt that he had in mind this passage of the Epistle to Timothy. The words repeated could not be the same, but the thought was to be the same. In such a situation the only method to ensure order and seemliness was that the prayer should be silent; and any one who has been present at an assembly of the Friends knows how impressive this silent prayer is to all who take part in it. This was known even in the pagan mystic ritual. "One of the most characteristic and significant features in the writings of Ignatius is the emphasis that he lays on silence, as something peculiarly sacred and divine . . . he speaks of God as having manifested Himself through His Son, who is His Word that proceeded from silence." [1] The silence of the Quakers exacts a high standard of thought.

Such a rule of silent prayer did not exclude the spoken prayer of any one in the congregation whom the Spirit prompted to pray aloud. That is evident from the whole

[1] *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 163 f. The circumstance that Ignatius was accustomed to silent prayer in the assembly would have to be taken account of in that chapter from which I am quoting.

tone and tendency of the early Church. The conclusion from our investigation seems, therefore, to be that in the common prayer, there was no official leader who spoke while others listened: it was led only when the Spirit moved a leader: otherwise it was expressed in common silence and the prayer of thought.

The passage of Clement, which was quoted above, is far from conclusive and definite in its evidence, but on the whole gives the impression of a model for congregational use,[1] not for an individual official taking the lead in prayer. The use of the plural "us" and "we," of course, proves nothing; a single person, speaking on behalf of the congregation, must use the plural number. But the spirit and tone perceptible in 59–61 are subtly different from 64, which has the evident character of a prayer uttered by an official on behalf of the people. The Jewish usage of that early period, as the Rev. G. H. Box informs me, cannot be determined precisely and certainly; but the custom probably was that, when ten men assembled, they would appoint one of their number to act as the Reader. The modern custom is that the Eighteen Benedictions (part of which, especially the first three and the last three, are very early, though the whole series was not fixed in its present form till about A.D. 110) are said first silently by Reader and congregation together, and then repeated aloud by the Reader.[2] Hence

[1] I mean a model to be imitated, not a form of words to be slavishly repeated. But, as soon as the custom begins that the whole congregation should speak any prayer aloud, there must be a set form; otherwise there is confusion and anarchy.

[2] I am deeply indebted to the Rev. G. H. Box, Rector of Sutton, Beds., for an admirably instructive statement on this subject and on the relation of 1 Tim. ii. 8 to Jewish ritual, which I should have liked to print entire as it stands if I had his permission. Dr. Sanday kindly procured the statement for me; and favoured me with some notes of his own impressions, which I have used in the text. My own views were written and sent to the printer before receiving the statement, but it does not necessitate any change in them, and I have left them as they were formed. The last five paragraphs have the advantage of being written subsequently.

there is great probability that silent prayer of the whole congregation was not unknown in the Jewish synagogues of the first century.

Dr. Sanday, who expresses no definite opinion on either side, points out to me that while in the *Didache* x. 7 the prophets may say as much as they please, the parallel passage in *Apost. Constit.* vii. has 'presbyters' for 'prophets,' which would be in favour of ascribing the set form of prayer, x. 1–6, to the congregation. It is, as was stated above, part of our view that any inspired person, i.e., a prophet or prophetess, might be moved to speak the prayer, while the rest remained silent.

The condition which is prescribed, that the hands of the worshippers be "holy" (ὁσίους), is an interesting point. In the first place it probably implies that the hands be ceremonially pure, i.e. washed immediately before the service begins. This custom of washing before prayer was common both to many pagan cults [1] and to the Jewish ritual. Synagogues and places of prayer (προσευχαί) were commonly placed near a running water (Acts xvi. 13) or beside the sea, for the convenience of worshippers. There is very often an artificial fountain of running water within the precinct of a Mohammedan mosque so that the ablutions may be made easily before entering the sacred building. A fountain or, in places where water was scarce and streams did not exist, a cistern formed a common feature of the sacred precincts that surrounded earlier Anatolian churches; [2] and the Mohammedan custom (like many of the Mohammedan tenets) was probably derived from Christian refugees

[1] In the ritual of Men Tyrannos, for example, complete ablution is prescribed for the impure before entering the temple (Foucart, *Associations Religieuses*, p. 219, who is, however, surely in error when he understands κατακέφαλα λούσασθαι as *se jeter de l'eau sur la tête*: it must denote complete washing from the head downwards).

[2] See Expositor, 1908, Oct. p. 299, Nov. p. 407.

persecuted as heretics by the Orthodox Church. That the Jewish custom should persist in the Pauline congregations of Asia Minor is highly probable. I have elsewhere pointed out examples of the influence of Jewish rites which can be observed in the Anatolian congregations.[1]

In the second place, it would probably be too narrow a view to restrict the force of "holy" hands to ceremonial purity. Although there is always a tendency in human nature to forget the spiritual aspect of a rite and to attend only to the ceremonial and external side, and this tendency worked as strongly in Judaism as in other religions, yet even the Jews in many cases were conscious that external purity was not sufficient without moral purity; and Paul was not likely to forget this, nor do the Pastoral Epistles show any signs of neglect in this respect. But it is quite sufficient for us to establish the probability that the external condition of purity was considered and enforced in the earliest Pauline Churches of Asia Minor alongside of the moral conditions.

On the other hand, the Jewish analogy, so far as it goes, would favour the view that the men alone prayed in the Pauline Church; and would thus be dead against our conjectural restoration of the scene as it was clear in the minds of Paul and Timothy. But we must consider that the early Christian Church tended to give greater freedom to women, and that this tendency was restrained by the desire not to offend too distinctly against existing prejudices. Prophetesses might be inspired equally with prophets to speak with tongues and to pray aloud in the assembly; and Paul never forbade this, though he forbade them to give formal teaching or to do anything which assumed a position of authority over men. We may also freely admit that personally he

[1] *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. pp. 545 ff., 674 ff.; *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 141–144.

was not favourable to prophetesses speaking publicly at all; but his principle "quench not the Spirit," i.e. never belittle or depreciate or discourage any working of the Spirit, would not permit him to forbid them speaking as the Spirit moved them, and he never denied that the Spirit may move women as much as, and in the same way as, it moved men.

W. M. Ramsay.

"*MENDING THEIR NETS.*"

(Note on the Call of the Apostles James and John.)

Two evangelists (Matthew and Mark) relate the call of these Apostles in nearly the same words. St. Matthew, after describing the call of Andrew and Peter, who were casting a net into the sea, proceeds to describe the call of their fellow-apostles, engaged in the like business. James and John were "also" (Revised Version, but why ?) in the boat with Zebedee their father, "*mending* their nets." St. Mark's account is practically the same. The purpose of this brief paper is to question the translation "mending" given in the Authorised and Revised Versions.

This translation of the Greek words seems, in modern times, to have gone unchallenged. But there has been by no means always an unanimous consent to the meaning. The Greek words in the two Gospels are "*ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, καταρτίζοντες τὰ δίκτυα.*"

The presence of Zebedee their father is noted in each Gospel, but in a different part of the sentence. Our inquiry is, What were James and John actually doing at the moment when our Lord approached and called them ? The assumption that they were "mending" their nets is, I suppose, universal. I think it open to question. The witness of the Vulgate is interesting. In the First Gospel the trans-

lation is—"vidit Jacobum Zebedaei et Joannem fratrem ejus in navi cum Z. patre eorum, *reficientes* retia sua." In St. Mark a completely different translation of the same Greek words is found; ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καταρτίζοντες τὰ δίκτυα becomes "*et ipsos componentes retia in navi.*" Was this the work of a different translator? It certainly seems to be so, for the idea in the mind of the Latinist is quite different. The opinion of most readers goes with the Vulgate of St. Matthew, not of St. Mark. Let us endeavour to see on which side the truth lies. It may be noted that Luther has "flickten," "patched," a general equivalent to *reficientes*. The old translations by Beza and Tremellius, from the Greek and Syriac respectively, published in Geneva in 1617, and revised by Franciscus Junius, agree in rendering καταρτίζοντες by "farcientes," which has no suggestion of "mending," and simply means "stowing" the nets in the boat. There is by me an interesting early sixteenth-century volume, published at Lyons in 1610, under the title of "Scholia in IV Evv., ex selectis Doctorum sacrorum sententiis collecta," which, on the Vulgate in Matt., "reficientes retia sua," notes, first under the Literal Sense, "Reparantes ad lucrum. Chrys. 'indicium magnae paupertatis, nova enim unde emerent non habebant,'" and adds a word of praise to the sons of Zebedee for their filial piety in keeping with them in the boat a useless (?) aged father. The Mystical Sense follows, pointing out rather ingeniously that Peter and his brother only cast the net, as preachers of the Gospel, "nihil componentes"; while John and his brother were "componentes, propter Ioannem qui evangelium composuit." This Note, however, though introduced under the text in Matthew, is clearly inspired, and only refers to the text of the Vulgate in Mark, for Matthew has "reficientes," and Mark "componentes."

In the same Scholia on St. Mark's account, we have the

note on "componentes in navi" "vel farcientes, vel complicantes," "either stowing or folding." Illustrations of each are—of farcientes, Sen. Ep. 108: "Edaces et se ultra quam capiunt farcientes"; App. Flor. p. 353: "fartum totum theatrum"; of complicantes, "folding," Plin. Rud. 4, 3, 1, where the word is used to describe the neat folding away of a ship's cordage. And so Cicero, Q. Fr. 3, 1, 5, uses it of folding a letter. It was this interpretation of καταρτίζοντες which undoubtedly led the Marcan translator, ignorant of, or rejecting the view of his brother who rendered St. Matthew, to alter the position in the sentence of the words ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ and to place "in navi" *after* the verb, giving the sense, "He saw them stowing or folding the nets *in the boat*," i.e., preparatory for the next draught, a process which has to be carefully performed, or the nets would not run clear over the gunwale when the boat was being pulled in a great segment of a circle for a "draught."

There is a vividness of picturing here which is more interesting and reads more like the work of an eye-witness than is to be found in the phrase "mending their nets," derived from the Vulgate translation of St. Matthew.

Which of the interpretations is correct? We have to examine the original word καταρτίζω for an answer. Καταρτίζω means originally to put in proper order, to adjust, prepare, the synonyms given by Grimm from Hesych. κατασκευάζειν, τελειοῦν, στερεοῦν.

It is a little difficult to see why Grimm, in Thayer-Grimm Lexicon, places as a *first* meaning "to mend" (what has been broken or rent), illustrating this by reference to the two passages in the Gospels under consideration, the only places in N. T. where the verb has a literal or physical sense; and as a *second*, "to fit out, equip, put in order, arrange, adjust." The assumption which guided this order must have been the unquestioned belief that James and John

were found seated in the boat with netting needles in their hands, " patching," as Luther said, the broken nets.

It is submitted, then, that we may fairly question the common opinion and adopt the more probable sense of componentes, farcientes or complicantes, and imagine the hands in the boat carefully placing in neat folds the net they carried, always in view of the next haul. Any one who knows seaside habits knows the care bestowed by fishermen on this part of their business. And we may perhaps see reason, apart from the ingenious suggestion of the Scholia quoted, for picturing one group of the fishermen, soon to be made fishers of men, as actively engaged in casting their nets, and of the other, carefully arranging in the boat, under the eye of aged wisdom and experience, the instrument which must be kept always ready, as soon as the crisping surface should be broken by flashing fins, to be heaved instantly over the side, and not then only to be got ready, lest, if they were found unprepared, the fishers, whether of fishes or men, should lose a moment of opportunity which might not soon return.

G. R. Wynne.

OPERA FORIS.

Materials for the Preacher.

X.

John x. 8: *All that came before me are thieves and robbers.*

Some fresh light has been recently thrown upon this extremely difficult word. The difficulty lies partly in the historical reference of the words (to Pharisaic teachers ? or false messiahs ?), and partly in the fact that even when any such reference can be established, it seems to leave a tinge of harshness in the saying. Two suggestions may be made. One is that the words refer to premature and ex-

ternal efforts made by priests and others to realize the function of a mediator between God and man. The true shepherd comes at the dawn to lead the sheep out to their pasture: at the dawn, not before the dawn. It is a note of the Shepherd's calling that he comes at the proper moment —as Paul puts it, *when the fulness of the time came.* Nothing about Him partook of the arbitrary, hasty character which attached to those who worked on their own initiative, without waiting for any divine monition. In this light, the words would mean: "As many as have come to the flock, from the beginning, not waiting for the Good Shepherd's time, nor associating themselves with Him, but pressing forwards to rule mankind by the short methods of constraint." [1]

But, while this explains the ἦλθον πρὸ ἐμοῦ, the other phrase, κλέπται καὶ λησταί, suggests that this prematureness was not due to a disinterested miscalculation. One function of Jesus as the true and good Shepherd was to lead believers out of the Jewish fold into the new and wider relations which assured them of His personal care and unselfish love. Thus, especially if, with Mr. H. T. Purchas (in *Johannine Problems and Modern Needs*, pp. 78 f.), we connect chap. x. with chap. ix. (where the blind man is excommunicated by the Jewish authorities and then received by Jesus), we get a fresh and fit interpretation of the words. They mean: "All that came before me, *with the object of drawing people out of the Jewish fold*, are thieves and robbers. This would refer to attempts on the part of Grecian religion and philosophy." Jesus is thus contrasted with all previous

[1] Dr. E. A. Abbott, *Johannine Grammar*, p. 273. An apt historica illustration is to be found in Josephus's account (*Antiq.* xviii. 1, 1) of the revolutionary Judas (Acts v. 37) who started a crusade against the taxation under Quirinius. The historian, who naturally had no love for these zealots, asserts that in the course of the movement "there were very great robberies, and murders of our leading men, done under the pretext of furthering the public welfare, but really in hope of private gain."

"leaders of revolt," pseudo-messiahs and others, whose influence came to nothing because it was both furtive and self-seeking. Jesus had no doubt been charged by some of the contemporary rabbis with being an unscrupulous sectarian, who was engaged in breaking up the community of God's people in order to found a new one for private ends. The reply is, that the Christian society is the one legitimate people of God, with Christ as its divinely accredited Head. He is no leader who takes advantage of his dupes, leaving them in the lurch so soon as danger threatens or his own interests are secured.

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A similar thought is expressed in 1 Timothy ii. 5–6: *For there is one God* (a Mohammedan could go thus far: but the Christian confession is completed by the further testimony), *one mediator also between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all.* This might serve as a text for a sermon upon the exclusiveness of Jesus Christ. Dr. Theodor Kaftan has just published an address, in the fourth series of the *Biblischen Zeit- und Streitfragen* (1908), which discusses it in this light. All truth, as he points out, is exclusive. If there is one correct method in an inquiry, it is mistaken kindness to talk as though the question of method were still debatable. The man who knows the true road to knowledge in any province, will not amiably let beginners try vain experiments along lines of their own, to the inevitable and sometimes irreparable loss of time and money. He will insist upon attention to the proper method. Dr. Kaftan applies this to the modern attitude towards comparative religion. "Now-a-days, 'religions' not religion is the clue: or, to put it otherwise, 'religion' not 'the religion.' The claim of Christianity to be *the* religion—a claim based on this very fact that there is but *one* mediator between God and man—this claim is

felt by many to be an unjustifiable reflection upon all other religions, and a highly suspicious isolation of the Christian religion." As he proceeds to show, it is in reality neither. One can recognize with perfect sympathy and gratitude the moral and religious aspirations voiced outside Christianity. One can and one must; for Christianity is no partisan religion, nor does it lie outside all historical relations to the other movements of religion among men. But it is exclusive none the less, inasmuch as Jesus Christ for the first time made fellowship between God and man a reality; through the knowledge of God, which he revealed, this fellowship became possible, and through the reign of God, which he incorporated, it is perfected. The pre-eminent and distinctive place of Jesus Christ must be conserved. "To allow him to fall into the background in the religious life of the soul; to let him disappear, as it were, behind God; to seek in this direction the solution of our Christological difficulties—is practically the same as if we were to recognize that the purity and soundness of our bodily condition lay in as anaemic a condition as possible." The *one God* implies *one mediator*.

James Moffatt.

THE DEPENDENCE OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY UPON JUDAISM.

If we wish to understand and appreciate a historical fact, a single personality, or an entire movement, we must compare it with the conditions preceding it and implied by it. Only then we may perceive what was new, what was unique and significant, what was epoch-making in that particular movement. Sometimes the result obtained is quite different from what people have been wont or are wont even now to suppose ; but still it is right. And at the same time we may ascertain from such a comparison, how intimately new theories were linked with older opinions, how much these men learnt from their ancestors. The discoverers and the pioneers in all realms of science and of art stand up on the shoulders of their predecessors and even their most singular opinions are prepared for by the previous development.

The theory is not novel that even the Christian religion had its antecedents. From the beginning its adherents emphasized the fact that it was anticipated by, nay, contained in the Old Testament. And though in this form their opinion was of course erroneous, still it remains true that in a great many respects Christianity starts from the religion of Israel, that its ethical idea of God, and a great portion of its eschatology, may be traced back to the Old Testament prophets. But this would be a sufficient explanation of the origin of Christianity only on condition that there had been no continuance in the religious and moral development of the Jewish people during the two centuries that inter-

vened between the close of the Old Testament and the appearance of Christ. If the development did *not* cease during this period, then the New Testament may be as little sufficiently explained from the Old Testament as the philosophy of Kant from that of Bacon and Descartes or the poetry of Schiller and Goethe from that of Hans Sachs and Simon Dach. And there was no stagnation in the development of the Jewish people in this period in which the nation freed itself from the yoke of the Syrians and came under the rule of the Romans, or at least of the half-pagan dynasty of the Herodians. We even learn from the New Testament itself that this development continued; for in the New Testament we repeatedly meet with expressed or implied opinions and institutions which are subsequent to the Old Testament because not yet mentioned in it. It is true, until recently we did not know much about this development which we are wont to call Judaism, for the literature attesting it had to a large extent been disavowed or even destroyed by the Jews themselves. Only the apocrypha of the Old Testament, which we have even now in some editions of the Bible, were accepted by the Jews as belonging to their Holy Scripture, and not by all Jews, but only by the Jews in the dispersion; the Jews living in Palestine rejected them and all Jews rejected the pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, i.e., other pseudonymous writings of the same time which I shall discuss at greater length by and by. All these writings were preserved by the Christian Church, which in the beginning at least read them together with the canonical books of the Old Testament; later on they were thus regarded only by the oriental Churches which separated from the Catholic Church in the fourth and fifth centuries, the Armenian, Syriac, Coptic and Abyssinian Church. Thus it is to be explained that many of these writings have been preserved to us only in versions in one of these oriental

languages, and it is only in the last decade or two that some of these versions have been discovered or more closely studied. In the main the Germans, and in addition a few English scholars, undertook this task, and through their co-operation both Judaism and primitive Christianity are now better understood by us than by any former generation.

As in this paper I shall sometimes have to cite at least the most important of the writings referred to a moment ago, I think it best to begin with an enumeration and characterization of them. I distinguish three categories.

Of comparatively the least importance or interest for us are the historical books written in this period, whether they describe events of the ancient or more recent past. To the first group belong the so-called Jubilees, a recasting of Genesis, especially supplementing it on the chronological side, i.e., dating every event mentioned in it. For this purpose jubilees or periods of fifty years are distinguished, and, therefore, the whole book is called Jubilees. It is preserved to us in an Ethiopic and partly in a Latin translation. The first and second books of the Maccabees, on the other hand, relate the story of the struggle of the Jewish people for freedom in the second century B.C., they are preserved to us in a Greek translation; but originally all these books were written in Hebrew.

A second group is formed by the practical writings; exhortations to piety and righteousness, partly in connexion with historical or mythical events, partly without such a reference. The former one holds good with regard to the works of Philo of Alexandria, who brings forward his ideas in an allegorical exposition of the Pentateuch, the latter one with reference to the sayings of Jesus Sirach, or as we ought to say more correctly, of Jesus, the son of Sirach, and with reference to the wisdom and the psalms of Solomon, which, however, have nothing at all to do with the historical

Solomon. The psalms of Solomon and the sayings of Jesus, the son of Sirach, were originally written in Hebrew and a large portion of the original of the latter was rediscovered a decade ago; the rest is extant only in Greek, in which language the other works were originally written. The psalms of Solomon contain also some prophecies on the future and lead us thus to the third and most interesting group, to the apocalypses, the predecessors of the Revelation of John.

The oldest of the apocalypses is the book of Daniel, which we have in our Old Testament in Hebrew and Aramaic, published between 167 and 165 B.C. In the first half of the first century followed the book of Enoch, of which only an Ethiopic and parts of a Greek and a Latin translation have been preserved; it was originally written in Hebrew. A little after 6 A.D. appeared the assumption of Moses, after 70 the apocalypse of Baruch and the second book of Ezra. All of these books were probably written in Greek; we have them only in Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian and Ethiopic versions. Everybody who is acquainted with the history of the Jewish people sees at a glance that these apocalypses were written in times of great distress and tribulation; whenever an external foe oppressed the people, whenever the internal affairs seemed to have become intolerable, the Jews believed that this could not last much longer, that God would presently intervene, and usher in the final catastrophe. Now, in order that their prophecies regarding the future might be believed, these men put also the past into this form and attributed their writings to men of the past, who of course had nothing at all to do with them. Still, the material which these men employed was older, and in part even very old; we may therefore make use of their writings to depict the background of Christianity.

Nay, we can go even a little farther and consult occasion-

ally the Talmud, which, it is true, was compiled only later, but the contents of which date in part from the period under discussion. Of course before citing a passage we must always demonstrate that it came from an older tradition and oftentimes we are not yet able to thus discriminate between different strata. But for our purpose rather the beforementioned writings must be primarily taken into consideration. What then do they teach us concerning the dependence of primitive Christianity on the Jewish religion ?

The centre of gravity of every religion, and therefore also of Christianity, is its idea of God. But with regard to it, primitive Christianity was but slightly influenced by Judaism. The belief in the unity and spirituality of God—to mention here only this—was already held by the prophets and by them transmitted to later generations. But even in Judaism the doctrine of God had gone on developing, and by this development at least the *terminology* of the New Testament was influenced. Not perceiving any more God's action upon the course of things in such a way as former generations had believed to be able to perceive it, these Jews avoided even to speak of Him, and spoke, therefore, of heaven instead of God—as for similar reasons other nations used to do too, and as even we do sometimes now. In this way it is to be explained why in the New Testament sometimes instead of kingdom of God the kingdom of heaven is spoken of —the sense of both terms is in general the same—and why in the well-known parable the prodigal son says : " Father, I have sinned against heaven (i.e., against God), and in thy sight."

There is another more important point closely related to the preceding one. Notwithstanding His transcendence God must be able to act upon the world—for what is religion if God is absentee ? If, therefore, according to Jewish belief, God could not operate immediately upon the world,

and if we remember that men had not yet learnt to think in terms of natural law, it is plain that they must insert other beings between God and the world. Now already in the Old Testament angels are mentioned; they were originally the gods of the nations living round Israel, of which at first men did not venture to think as non-existent, and which, therefore, they reduced to the rank of servants of the national God, who was considered to be the mightiest one. But it was only in Judaism, where such intermediary beings were needed, that angels began to play a more important rôle. Nay, to a certain extent, they took God's place and entered into the very scheme of religion. When also the New Testament introduces angels so often, it is so far dependent upon Judaism and its transcendental idea of God. This view Christ had as a matter of fact left behind, when He taught: *God* maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust, *He* feedeth the birds of the heaven and arrays the lilies of the field; without *Him* no sparrow falls to the ground. But nevertheless we hear in the New Testament not only of guardian angels of men, but in the Revelation of John even of angels of the four winds, of the fire and the waters; nay, wherever in Paul's epistles, or those of other writers, principalities, powers, rules, authorities, thrones, dominions are mentioned, angels must be understood.

Whether these last-mentioned angels are good or bad—that is a question one must not ask at all. They live *jenseits von gut und böse*, beyond the realm of good and bad, they are non-moral beings. But in addition to these there are decidedly good and decidedly bad angels or demons. The last-mentioned were believed in because these Jews could no longer derive evil from God in the same direct way as former generations had done, and because they had not yet learnt to consider evil and sin as unavoidable but

surmountable consequences of a gradual development of the race. Thus it is to be explained, that also in the New Testament, and above all in the Gospels, demons are mentioned again and again, that all sorts of diseases are derived from them, that in many cases sick persons are believed to be possessed with demons. It is true, here primitive Christianity was at the same time influenced by other religions ; but in the first place this belief in demons was an inheritance from Judaism.

The same holds good with regard to the Christian belief in a prince of these demons, in the devil or Satan. He, too, is mentioned already in the Old Testament, but he became only by degrees what he is in Judaism. With the prophet Zechariah, who describes him as accusing the Jewish people before God, he is not yet a bad angel, but *eine Art himmlischer Staatsanwalt*, something like a heavenly prosecutor, who, it is true, delights in his business. Later on in the prologue of the book of Job he is already the enemy of mankind who cannot help injuring them, and who, therefore, is not always in God's company, but only from time to time likes to see the Ancient One, as Goethe puts it in the prologue of his *Faust*. Finally in Judaism Satan became God's adversary, a dualistic conception—partly, it is true, under the influence of a non-Jewish religion, but above all for the same reasons which determined the belief in demons. So also the belief in Satan was an inheritance from Judaism.

Another intermediary being, by which Judaism tried to bridge over the gulf between God and the world caused by the transcendence of God, became a still more important factor for Christianity. Already in the Old Testament, where God in general is represented in a human form, His spirit was occasionally mentioned ; later on it was personified, and finally an intermediary being was thought of, from which all extraordinary phenomena in the spiritual realm

were derived. So in the New Testament the spirit is spoken of as the power by which Christ speaks and acts, by which the Christians preach and teach, by which the author of the Revelation of John prophesies the future. Even the Holy Spirit, into the name of which, as into that of the Father and of the Son, men were baptized, was originally a Jewish conception.

Wisdom is coupled with the spirit in the homonymous apocrypha. It too had been personified already in the Old Testament, later on, by Jesus Sirach and the author of Wisdom, it is represented as an intermediary being. As the latter calls it an emanation of the glory of the Almighty, a copy of the eternal light and a picture of His bounty, and as the same terms are applied to Jesus by Paul and the author of Hebrews, it is clear that to this extent the Christology of the New Testament was influenced by the Judaistic conception of the wisdom. And Christ Himself quotes a saying apparently taken from another apocryphal book: "I will send unto them prophets and apostles, and some of them they shall kill and persecute."

More important still for the later development of Christianity became another intermediary being of Judaism which is presupposed in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel, in the first Epistle and in the Revelation of John. We are wont to translate the term by Word—"in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God"—but the Greek word λόγος signified at the same time the reason or intelligence by which, according to Greek philosophy, the world had been created. The Jewish thinkers in Egypt and elsewhere, whose main representative was Philo, identified this divine reason or intelligence with the word of God, which had sometimes been personified in the Old Testament in the same way as His spirit and wisdom, and which in Greek was designated by the same word λόγος,

as reason or intelligence. So a new intermediary being was born; nay, this Logos of God was represented as the creator and preserver of the world, as a second God. Finally the authors of the Fourth Gospel, the first Epistle and the Revelation of John identified this being with Christ, and therefore referred to Him in terms which in their turn influenced the later development of the doctrine of Christ's person. To this extent, then, even this doctrine is derived from Judaism.

In the last place I could mention the Messiah, for in later time He too is an intermediary being that closes the gap between God and the world. But this idea will be more conveniently discussed in connexion with the other expectations for the future which primitive Christianity derived from Judaism.

The prophets expected only a restoration of the former condition of the people, a re-establishment of the kingdom under a descendant of David; to the later generations this did not seem to be sufficient; they postulated a future transformation of all things, a new heaven and a new earth, with a new heavenly Jerusalem. This enormous revolution, with which, of course, the end of this world was to coincide, was to be preceded by signs as they were in olden times expected before every important event. So eclipses of the sun and of the moon and other transformations in heaven and on earth were expected not only in Jewish, but also in Christian literature. Moreover, still other signs were awaited before the end. At first, as we saw a little while ago, the end was announced as often as the inward or outward conditions of the people seemed to have become so intolerable that it was believed: this cannot last any longer, now God must interfere and bring about the end. But later on it was just the other way round; a tremendous increase of sin and evil was expected, *when* and *because* the

end seemed to be near at hand. Of this ghastly apostasy and these terrible calamities before the end, which are described at greatest length in the Jubilees, the Gospels and Paul and the other New Testament writers speak incidentally; they are treated in full by the author of the Revelation of John. Here also a last attack of a hostile power is expected, which in one place is called Gog and Magog in accordance with the prophet Ezekiel, in another is expected from the Euphrates and identified with the Parthians, as in the book of Enoch. In Daniel it is represented by four or two beasts, in the psalms of Solomon by a dragon; both metaphors occur again in the Revelation of John. In the assumption of Moses, the apocalypse of Baruch and the second book of Esra also a leader of this hostile power is expected; in the Second Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians he is described as a counterpart of the Messiah and in the Epistles of John he is called Antichrist indeed. Finally, in Jewish as well as in Christian literature one or two precursors of the Messiah are announced: Elijah and sometimes also Moses are to reappear before the end—apparently because, according to Old Testament and Jewish tradition, these two men had not died but ascended to heaven.

The end itself was originally to be brought about by God's direct interference; and this conception is sometimes found even later on. But in general, after the idea of God having become so transcendent, this no longer appeared appropriate or even possible. So instead of the battle, in which, according to the older view, God was to defeat the enemies of His people, who were at the same time regarded as His own enemies, in later times an assize was expected, at which, it is true, God was to appear even now but without doing anything. A typical description of this assize is given in the book of Daniel. "Thrones were placed and one

that was ancient of days did sit; his raiment was white as snow and the hair of his head like pure wool. . . . Thousands of thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; the judgment was set and the books were opened"—the books in which all deeds of men or the names of those who are destined for eternal life or eternal death are noted down. Ultimately even this assize was no longer conceived of as held by God—He seemed to be too transcendent even for that; so it was assigned to the Messiah; but He Himself was more and more represented as a transcendent being. With the prophets and with some even of the later writers He was an earthly king, though endowed with supernatural gifts; with most of the later apocalyptists He is a heavenly, god-like being, who existed in heaven before appearing on earth. He is called now the Son of Man, and the same term was used by Christ for stating the expectation of His second coming. Nor can it be doubted that Paul and other New Testament writers represented Christ as pre-existing in heaven before His appearance on earth partly at least for this very reason, that Judaism had a similar opinion respecting their Messiah.

Again, this transcendence of the Messiah introduced a new view of His kingdom or reign. In olden times the main stress had been laid upon the outward welfare of the people, and even later on formulas were in use which originally referred to that view. So the expressions used by Christ in the beatitudes—they shall inherit the earth, they shall be filled—had originally no other sense than the literal one; but in fact, Christ's idea of God's kingdom was just the opposite one. He emphasized the *inward* well-being, the moral regeneration of the people: the kingdom of God is within you; or, as Paul says: it is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit. This new conception of the kingdom of God was prepared for

only by a very few Judaistic writers, especially by the author of the psalms of Solomon.

Sometimes, it is true, the older and this newer conception were combined in Judaism : at first an earthly dominion of the Messiah, limited in duration, was expected, and only afterwards eternal bliss in heaven was to come. According to some Jewish authorities the earthly dominion of the Messiah was to last a thousand years, and in this form the idea was adopted by the author of the Revelation of John. It is well known what an important part this conception of the Millennial reign has played in the history of Christianity, but it was inherited from Judaism.

Where these two acts of the eschatological drama were discriminated in Judaism and Christianity, there also the resurrection from the dead was expected at two different moments : the pious were to be raised before the establishment of the earthly kingdom of the Messiah or Christ, in order that they might be able to take part in it ; the godless were to be resuscitated only before and for the judgment. But why was the resuscitation expected only before the end ? To put it paradoxically : because originally it had not been expected at all. The prophets announced the future salvation for the generation that would live then, not for the former ones ; it was only later that the dead were expected to participate in it ; but because the salvation was to take place at the end, therefore also the dead were to be raised up only then. It is true, in some circles immortal life was expected immediately after death, and beside this the belief in a resurrection at the end had, properly speaking, no sense ; but, nevertheless, it was adhered to. Some expected no real immortality immediately after death, but an intermediate state, lasting until the resurrection, but oftentimes both ideas—the belief in immortality and in resurrection—were found side by side. And in the same way

the Christians until to-day speak of a life immediately after death and still wait for a resurrection at the end. This anomaly and the whole belief in a resurrection at the end of all things come from Judaism, which so far clung to a conception of religion that in general it itself had outgrown. As long as the whole nation and not the individual was the subject of religion, as long as the individual trusted in God only because he belonged to the nation which according to his belief God had elected, so long of course a salvation of the nation, i.e., of the generation then living, and since this did not any longer suffice, a simultaneous resurrection of the dead at the end was expected. But this collectivistic conception of religion had, in fact, been outgrown already by the later prophets, and Christianity was at bottom still more individualistic; so there cannot be the least doubt that only the belief in immortality immediately after death, not in a resurrection at the end of the world, is a true Christian belief. Nay, the whole expectation of a kingdom of God and of a ruler in it, the Messiah, belonged in its original form to that collectivistic conception of religion. It is true Christ Himself preached: the kingdom of God is at hand, He called Himself the Messiah, and seeing that for the present He would not succeed but perish, He expected His coming back on the clouds of heaven to sit in judgment; He could not help clothing His ideas in the conceptions familiar to Himself and to His hearers; but nevertheless all these conceptions were only the outward wrappings of His preaching. He could have dispensed with all these outward forms and sometimes He did dispense with them indeed.

Another idea of Judaism, and a still more fundamental one, by which also the doctrine of the end of all things had been influenced, was explicitly rejected by Christ. The judgment which was expected at the end was to be held

strictly according to works done ; i.e., only those were to be saved who could boast of a sufficient number of good deeds. It is true, in some writings of Judaism, in addition to works, faith is regarded as justifying, and thus it is to be explained that in opposition to Judaism Paul coined the formula : a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law. But in Judaism the main emphasis was laid upon works ; they merited the grace of God. " Much meat," says Hillel, a contemporary of Christ, " many worms ; many treasures—many sorrows ; many women—many superstitions ; but much law—much life." " If thou hast purchased the words of the law, then thou hast purchased the life of the future world." God, from the point of view of Judaism, was primarily a lawgiver and judge, not the heavenly father ; that was, on the contrary, Christ's idea of God. I quoted a little while ago His word : " God maketh His sun rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust " ; but clearer still is perhaps His own attitude towards sinners : before they had improved, nay, before they had confessed their sins He forgave them their debts ; i.e., He assured them of the love of their heavenly father. That contradicted most strongly the Jewish conception of God, as it contradicts the view now held by a great many Christians. Thus at this most central point Christ opposed Judaism, but in other respects even He Himself did start from it.

However tormenting and harrowing the Jewish conception of God as a lawgiver and judge was, it had brought about a moral fervour, a tenderness of conscience, a keenness of self-examination unheard of in olden times. To be sure, the morality was oftentimes an outward morality, people tried to snap their fingers at the law, nay, as Christ said, they made void the word of God because of their tradition ; but in spite of all this it must be confessed that

there was, in many circles at least, a striving after the good which we cannot admire too much. It is true, the morality preached by Christ was different and differently substantiated ; but still it had been prepared for by Judaism.

Where, on the other hand, God's commandments were not kept, and could perhaps not be kept, there was to be found in Judaism a consciousness of guilt more profound than hitherto experienced in all the human race. So it is to be explained that these people propounded to themselves a question which had not yet interested former generations, namely : what is the origin of sin ? Three answers were given to this question, and all these answers are found again in primitive Christianity.

In the first place, sin, as evil, was derived from the demons or the devil. We read in the book of Wisdom : " by the envy of the devil came death into the world "—death, which, as long as immortality was not believed in, had appeared as a rending of all cherished ties, and had, therefore, been considered as a punishment inflicted by God, and was inconsistently so considered even after the belief in immortality had been born. It is well known that also in Christianity death was regarded in the same way, and the devil was considered as tempter ; all this came again from Judaism.

Strange to say, there is in Judaism and primitive Christianity another theory on the origin of sin which, as a matter of fact, traces sin back to God. Sin is rooted in the flesh, i.e., in the physical nature of man, which, of course, comes from God. Thus this theory amounts to the same thing as the explanation of sin which we must give now and which I hinted at a little while ago : sin is an inevitable product of the evolution of man ; it could not be prevented, provided that the bodily development of the individual and the race was quicker than the moral one. There is much reason to thank Judaism for this solution of the problem of

moral evil which, it is true, was perhaps found only by the help of a foreign philosophy.

It is different with reference to the third explanation of sin, which because of Augustine's influence became by far more important in western Christianity than the previously discussed explanations. Sin is held to have originated with the fall of the first man, who in consequence of this fall transmitted to posterity a propensity for evil. This doctrine is considered a genuinely Christian doctrine by many people even now ; but as a matter of fact in its original form it is only an inheritance from Judaism. It is easy to be seen why this explanation is not sufficient ; although sin is partly to be explained by hereditary transmission, the problem of its origin is not yet solved by this theory ; for why did the first man sin ? So this theory on the origin of sin is much less valuable than the second one.

More important still than this borrowing from Judaism was another one which was made by the apostle Paul. The former Pharisee adhered to his Jewish idea of God even after having professed Christianity ; he considered God in the first place as lawgiver and judge, whose love we must merit over and over again. Now for consoling those who had not observed, and perhaps could not observe, the whole law, Judaism had developed a theory which at the same time shows how outwardly righteousness was sometimes conceived there. People thought that moral debts could be compensated for by another man's good deeds just in the same way as pecuniary debts might be paid by another one. Especially undeserved sufferings of the righteous, as the martyrdom of the seven brothers described in the second book of the Maccabees, were believed to be put down by God as merits to others. This theory was applied by Paul to the death of Christ ; Paul could assimilate Christ's message of the love of God to all men only by assuming that God,

who had been angry with men because of their sins, had been reconciled by Christ's sacrifice, and had given the benefit of His innocent death to all men. It is well known how important this theory became for the later history of Christianity, but originally even this theory was an inheritance from Judaism.

There was still another way in Judaism in which people tried to atone for their defects and to uproot their sin: namely, by doing more than they believed themselves obliged to do and by neglecting or suppressing their physical nature, from which, as we saw, sin was oftentimes derived. So on the one hand the abstention from some foods and fasting, on the other the rejection of matrimony is to be explained. We read in the first chapter of the book of Daniel that Daniel and his three friends ate only vegetables and drank only water, and in the same way we hear from later writers of men who did not care for food but mortified their flesh. How widespread fasting was at Christ's time, is evident from the fact that even He Himself did not at all reject fasting on principle; His disciples are only, when they fast, not to be of a sad countenance, but to anoint their head and wash their face. Of course now, as long as the bridegroom is with them, they cannot fast at all; but the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them and then will they fast. In the rest of the New Testament, it is true, fasting is seldom mentioned and abstaining from certain foods is even opposed; but later on all this came into use again—partly, at least, under the influence of Judaism.

This is clearer still with regard to the other and last point I intend to mention here—the rejection of matrimony. It is sometimes to be found in Judaism, but not with Christ. He did not wish to reject matrimony when He spoke of those who had renounced it for the kingdom of God's sake; on

the contrary, He emphasized the Old Testament saying : from the beginning God has made them male and female : for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife. Even Paul never rejects matrimony, he even recommends it—but only for preventing worse things ; for matrimony is for him a lower form of morality. Nobody who has closely studied the seventh chapter of First Corinthians can deny this. When Paul says : " it is good for a man not to touch a woman ; I would that all men were even as I myself (i.e., unmarried) ; he, that does not give his virgin in marriage, shall do better ; the widow is happier if she abide as she is "—he does not do this for the reason that married people will suffer more severely from the calamities that, according to Jewish and Christian doctrine, were to precede the end (for in such times the strongest support and the best comfort of a man should be just his wife, and the strongest support and the best comfort of a woman should be just her husband) ; but Paul's main reason for his judgment is, that he thinks matrimony a lower form of morality. He says : " the unmarried woman is careful for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit "—the married woman, according to his idea, cannot do that. So far, then, Paul is doubtless on the path to the monastic ideal ; as, however, his asceticism is not to be explained by other influences, it must be derived from Judaism.

Now this is the point at which even the most conservative and orthodox Christians, at least in the Protestant Churches, confess that we must get rid of this Judaistic influence. It is not to be entirely repudiated ; on the contrary, we have every reason to thank Judaism for its moral fervour, and its natural explanation of sin. But in most cases this Judaistic influence did indeed bring forward ideas which Christ Himself had outgrown, and which the later develop-

ment of Christianity has surpassed and will surpass more and more—just as these wrappings of its origin from lower religious ideas have been shed by modern Judaism. We are, in most cases, unable to adhere to these conceptions; but we need not for that reason give up other convictions dear to us. Those conceptions, which we have outgrown, did not belong to the essence of Christianity, they came from a religion in which God's relation to the world and to mankind was represented in another way than it was represented by Christ. So by the very rejection of these Judaistic conceptions our belief will become clearer and dearer to us, just as the entire beauty of a picture may be seen only after all veils have been removed.

CARL CLEMEN.

MARY OF BETHANY; MARY OF MAGDALA; AND ANONYMA.

RENAN eulogizes Luke's Gospel as "uniting the emotion of the drama with the serenity of the idyll," and declares expressly, "C'est le plus beau livre qu'il y ait." In its idyllic pages three women are successively portrayed. The sketches are only in outline, but they are limned by a master hand (chapters vii., viii., x.).

I. ANONYMA.

We are taken first to Galilee where the young Rabbi from Nazareth is going about doing good. In Capernaum He has healed a centurion's servant who was ready to die. At the gate of Nain He has called back to life a widow's only son and delivered him to his mother. The multitude are beginning to recognise that in Him God has visited His people. Common people and outcasts justify God; Pharisees and lawyers frustrate the counsel of God "within themselves." One of the latter group, with some hesitation, "desired

Him that He would eat with him. And He went into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to meat. And, behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner" comes into view out of a life of guilt and passion to weep her penitence at Jesus' feet; and she passes out of sight when He has said to her, "Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace." We see fresh beauty in the story each time we read it. It palpitates with life. It forbids prurient prying into the hidden history of one whom Jesus three times speaks of simply as "this woman." The good Shepherd could have called her by her name. Let it content us that we may hope to meet her where He gives to the overcomer a white stone and in the stone a new name written, unless like Simon we misjudge the sinner and her Saviour. It is of grace that the sacred writers withhold the three names; *first*, of "this woman"; *second*, of the woman of Samaria into whose soul Jesus began to sink a well of living water by asking her for a drink from the well whereof Jacob drank, and his children, and his cattle; and *third*, of that other to whom He said in the temple, "Neither do I condemn thee; go, and sin no more."

Would the theologians not do well to let "this woman" go unnamed into the peace that passeth understanding? It would add nothing to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ that shines resplendent in her story if they could tell her name. But they cannot. Let her be, as Luke guided by the Holy Spirit has left her, Anonyma.

II. Mary of Magdala.

After telling the tale of Simon and the woman of his city whom the Pharisee called "a sinner," Luke in his very next sentence lets us see the Nazarene Rabbi going "throughout every city and village in Galilee, preaching and shewing the glad tidings of the Kingdom of God; and the Twelve

were with Him," he adds, " and certain women, which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities." He names three of the better known of these devout and honourable women, and tells us that they ministered unto Him of their substance. The first of them was a " Mary." Now multitudes of Hebrew women bore the name of the heroine who sounded the timbrel and led the chorus of the triumph song that was sung at the birth of their nation on the Red Sea shore. Because it was the name of the mother of our Lord, it has been handed on to multitudes in Christendom as well; so that Mary Queen of Scots, e.g., had four Maries among her maids of honour. There were several Maries among the early friends and followers of Jesus. So to distinguish this Mary, Luke gives these two notes—that she was " called Magdalene," and that out of her had gone seven devils. The first note, of course, indicated that her home was in Magdala. The second indicates that she had been a very marked instance of that demon-possession from which Christ had occasion to deliver so many persons in different ranks of life. By one or other of these notes she is constantly distinguished when she appears in any of the Gospel narratives, and differentiated from the other Maries with whom she is found associated. That Luke names her in precedence of Joanna the wife of Chuza Herod's steward, and Susanna, and the many others who had means enough at their disposal to be able to supply the Master's wants, gives us the impression of a personage not only well known in the early Church but well-to-do. She has a profound affection for her young Deliverer, takes a kind of maternal care of him, has a place beside his mother at the Cross, is named first among the matrons who assisted at His hurried entombment, and came early on the morning after the Sabbath with the sweet spices that they had bought wherewith, too late, to anoint Him. Her wealth had en-

abled her first to minister to Him in life and then to honour Him in death. But He was risen, and the love that kept her at the empty tomb earned for her the first sight of the risen Lord. And Luke gives her again her accustomed place of precedence when in his last chapter he says, "It was Mary Magdalene and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James and other women with them, which told these things unto the Apostles."

A great soul was Mary of Magdala. The powers of evil made their *seven*-fold effort to dominate her, but she was the subject of a great deliverance. She greatly devoted herself and her substance to the service of her Saviour, and was greatly honoured by all His followers. What good ground has anybody for alleging that she had ever lived a life of shame? Luke seems carefully to differentiate her from the nameless woman in Simon's house, and surely the Church was in a decline when she suffered her sons to degrade the honoured name of the Magdalene matron by giving it to her fallen sisters.

III. Mary of Bethany.

When we follow Jesus under the guidance of Luke from Galilee to Judea, we are introduced to another Mary. She is the younger of two sisters in a home into which Jesus has been welcomed. Later on we are to learn more about these sisters and their brother, and their home and friends, from the other evangelists. One of them is to tell us how "Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus." What Luke has to show us is the relation the sisters respectively assume towards their Guest. Mary is all the while at Jesus' feet, drinking of the well of life that He opens up for her as He expounds in Isaiah liii. and in other scriptures the things concerning Himself. She has learned that it is more blessed to give than to receive, and with Him she takes

the lowly place of the receiver. Martha is more concerned as to what she can do for the comfort of the great Teacher; and, cumbered about her much serving, she bridles up to Him and says, "Lord, dost thou not care that my sister hath left me to serve alone? Bid her, therefore, that she help me." How cumbered the good lady must have been to speak thus to a guest, and such a Guest! Some Maries would have flared up and said, "Martha, how dare you!" But our Mary had not been sitting for nothing at Jesus' feet. She kept silence. And Jesus answered and said to her, "Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things; but one thing is needful, and Mary hath chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her." This is all Luke has to say of her. No hint is here of lapse and recovery; no memory of shame and demon-possession. It is a beautiful picture of a beautiful soul meekly bearing reproach for her love of the Highest. The artist who has just given to the ages in the preceding paragraph the portrait of The Good Samaritan, follows it up with the portrait of the daughter of Zion who chose That Good Part, which became to her, as to one of her favourite psalmists, a "portion for ever."

The other evangelists have each to make mention of Mary of Bethany, and all they have to tell accords well with the winsome sketch of Luke. Martha and she are always in character such as he makes us acquainted with at the first.

When Lazarus fell sick and died, they had kept saying to each other, "If only the Master had been here": and each when they met Him said it to Him, "Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died." But Martha, in keeping with her Lukan character, is the first "as soon as she heard that Jesus was coming" to go out and meet Him, while "Mary sat still in the house." And when she stands face to face with Him, Martha is not content to express regret

that he had not been there to save her brother from dying. She takes it upon her to suggest to Him that He use His influence with God to get the brother restored. The interview leads to His great declaration, "I am the Resurrection and the Life; he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die." When He went on to ask, "Believest thou this?" the good-hearted lady put the question by and said, "Yea, Lord: I believe that Thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world." She makes as intelligent a confession of her faith as had earned for Peter at an earlier day the Master's commendation. But neither Peter, nor John, nor any of Christ's disciples, except our Mary, had as yet learned the Death and Resurrection lesson. So we do not wonder that Martha felt she had got out of her depth and, when she had made her simple but somewhat inadequate confession, "she went her way, and called Mary her sister secretly, saying, The Master is come, and calleth for *thee*." She knew that Mary would understand what the Master was saying. "So when Mary was come where Jesus was, and saw Him, she fell down at His feet" with her "Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died." That was all. "Jesus saw her weeping." This is the only time she is seen weeping. It was "a time to weep." "The Jews also weeping . . . Jesus wept." At the grave our bustling, uncomprehending Martha would have forbidden the rolling away of the stone. Of Mary we read that when the risen Lazarus had been loosed and let go, "Then many of the Jews which came to Mary, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on Him." What had *she* said to them beforehand that made it easier for them to believe? There is something quickening in the intelligent faith of a saintly woman.

What else we are to know of Mary of Bethany we still

must learn from Luke's fellow-evangelists. Matthew and Mark and John have each to tell us of something she did so unique and wonderful that Christ said of it, "Verily I say unto you, Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, this also that she hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her." Because it was not in Luke's plan to record it, and because he alone has told the tale of the Anonyma it has been ultroneously suggested that Mary was the unnamed sinner of his northern story.

1. We are told to notice that the host in Galilee and the host in Judea were both Simons. But the name of the second of the tribal fathers was one of the commonest in the nation. It was simply scattered in Israel, north and south, among high and low. There are more of that name than of any other in the *entourage* of Jesus. One of His brothers was a Simon. Two of His twelve disciples were Simons. The fathers of others of them as well as the betrayer's father may have borne the name. A Cyrenian Simon carried His Cross. The two Simons who had Jesus at their tables, respectively in Capernaum or other northern city and in Bethany, are far apart in their attitude to their Guest as the poles asunder. The northerner is of the class of His opponents—with this qualifying grace, that he condescends to invite the peasant Teacher to a meal. Even so it is only that he may pass judgment upon Him; he treats Him with scant courtesy; and the last we see of him is as one of a group who grumbled when a penitent passed out of his house to go down to her own house justified. The just Justifier of the ungodly (Romans iii. 26) he let go without seeking His forgiveness, and his company were like himself.

Simon, the cured leper, at whose table in Bethany Jesus had a place, is a man of an altogether different

mind. Whether he were a relative or not of Lazarus and his sisters, they are among his familiar friends. While chief priests are consulting that they might put both Jesus and Lazarus to death, this Simon entertains them as his guests. He made Jesus a supper and His disciples were invited to the feast. Be sure he did not omit the kiss of welcome, the washing of the feet and anointing of the head that the other Simon disdained to offer. But the evangelists have not brought us into his house to see him, nor yet Lazarus who had been raised from the dead. We see them, indeed, and Martha doing the kindly housewifely service Luke teaches us to expect of her. The twelve are also there. Through their eyes we are made to look on the greatest act of homage rendered to the Redeemer in the days of His flesh. The actress is one of those rare souls who have earned the beatitude, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." She had listened to what Jesus told her. She took in what no other disciple had yet understood, that He was on His way to die and to rise again. She believed not only with Simon Peter and her sister Martha that He was the promised Messiah, the Son of God. She believed that on the way to His throne as Priest and King He would be the Lamb of God taking away the world's sin. The voice that said to Samuel in the old time, "Fill thine horn with oil and go," and he went "and anointed David in the midst of his brethren," bade Mary go with her alabaster box to anoint David's greater Son. She had sung from her childhood of the

> precious ointment on the head,
> that down the beard did flow,
> Even Aaron's beard, and to the skirts
> did of his garments go.

And the 110th and other psalms may have been singing themselves through her being as she filled her alabaster

box with the costly spikenard and went to anoint this Royal Priest against the coming hour when He was to be spit upon and crowned with thorns. For she poured the fragrant oil all over Him. "On His head," said two of those who saw it, Matthew and Peter (in Mark); "On His feet," said John. "She hath poured this ointment on my body," says Jesus. And Judas saw how it was lavished on Him from head to feet, and said, "To what purpose is this waste?" And the same thought found room in the minds of others, as they all noticed that "the house was filled with the odour of the ointment." It is characteristic of Mary that again when she is blamed for her devotion she is silent. And again it is Jesus who defends her. Defending, He explains her action: "She did it for my burial." He had told them all time and again that He must die and rise again. They did not believe Him till Peter and John stood in His empty tomb. He had said to them, "If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him?" When Pentecost is fully come they will all ask and each receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. But Mary has asked it already and has learned the things that only the Holy Ghost can teach. And so with prophetic inspiration and womanly devotion she carries through this great anointing—the only anointing, let us never forget, that the Blessed One received from a human hand.

2. But again, because it is said in John that she wiped His feet with her hair, it is alleged that she was the penitent sinner of Luke's story in the house of Simon the Pharisee. It is a desecration of paper to write the thought. It is alleged that there were so many wicked people in Galilee it was easier to play the harlot there. As if, had she been that kind of woman, she could not have got five husbands

in a Samaritan village nearer at hand. Or at the Capital, about fifteen furlongs off, she could have been with a whole templeful of men whose consciences kept them from casting a stone at an adulteress. We are told Augustine and other Latin church fathers believed in the identity of the nameless sinner and Mary of Bethany; and to make confusion worse confounded they drag in Mary the Magdalene matron into the miserable blur into which they reduce Luke's masterly sketches. St. Augustine was St. Augustine. But before he became saint he was a profligate among sinners. He had played the prodigal devouringly, and I have an impression that the law in the members which a better saint than he felt warring against the law in his mind should be taken into account in accepting his judgment in this matter.

This wiping of the feet of Jesus with their hair by these two women is well worth noticing, because though the action looks the same in both, the two were worlds apart with their loosened hair. Paul has occasion to tell us that a woman's long hair is her glory. The abandoned woman in Galilee had turned her glory into shame. When she came to herself and began to wash the travel-stained feet of Jesus with her flood of penitential tears, she washed also her shame away by wiping the tear-wet feet with her too often unbound hair. Then, after much kissing of the feet that she had washed and wiped, she anointed them with the last of the ointment she was to use no more for making her alluring locks more seductive to foolish men. For she is forsaking the society of the clamorous sisterhood who call to passers-by that stolen waters are sweet, but whose guests are in the depths of hell; and she slips out of our sight a restored soul on her way in peace to a becoming obscurity. The once dishonoured hair she will henceforth use, as it was given her, for a covering veil. Let us leave her so.

The sister of Martha and Lazarus belonged to a circle of

good repute, and had many friends among the residents in the Capital near by. She comes to Jesus with a glory on her head of unsullied purity. She has no remorseful tears to shed; nor do the feet need washing that have crossed the threshold of a friend. She poured her "ointment of spikenard very precious" all over Him, and as it ran from off His feet the inspiration came to her to lay her glory there. She let fall the braided locks that had never been loosened before men till now and "wiped His feet with her hair." A sister spirit, a sweet singer of our Israel of to-day, gives us the lines that may set us in unison with the mind of Mary then, as she sings:

> Take my love: my Lord, I pour
> At Thy feet its treasure store:
> Take myself: and I will be
> Ever, only, ALL for Thee.

The young prophetess enacting her poem without words was anticipating the four and twenty representatives of redeemed humanity in heaven who "cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory." When "this gospel" shall have prospered in the thing whereto it has been sent, and the whole world has been evangelized, humanity in all its bounds will speak of this that was done by Mary of Bethany. They will speak of it in all the tongues of men with growing wonder. They will speak to the praise of other Maries and other women, who watched to see what took place on Calvary, who helped to wrap the sacred body in linen clothes with spices, who came back early on the morning of the third day still intent on kindly offices, and who were the first to see the Risen Lord. But they will reserve a higher note of praise for the one who, when the deadly hatred of the enemies of Christ was gathering to a head and His friends were expecting they knew not what, rose up with her regal

ointment to anoint her King beforehand for the burial that was to swallow up death in victory. They will thank the Father that He had one member of the race prepared to honour The Son against the last hour of His humiliation; and they will own that He found a fitting ministrant for the high office in this Hebrew maid, "as dewdrop pure and fair."

A. R. SIMPSON.

PS.—As the above was written at the seaside, where the writer had not access to any literature on the subject other than the article in the July EXPOSITOR, which made him take up his pen, he accepted a hint from the Editor that some of the acknowledged authorities might be consulted. His son sends him word from his manse at Kilcreggan that the ideas here advocated as to the separate individuality of the three women are confirmed by the arguments of Plummer in his *International Critical Commentary on Luke*. Plummer says: "The ἁμαρτωλός and Mary Magdalen and Mary of Bethany are three distinct persons"; and the writers on the Maries in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* and the *Encyclopedia Biblica* come to the same conclusion.

The parenthetic reference in John xi. 2 seems to indicate that in the primitive Church, which had not yet been beguiled from the simplicity that is in Christ, the members continued to do what Jesus had said would be done wheresoever His Gospel should be preached through the whole world. They kept speaking to one another of what Mary of Bethany had done for the Lord's Anointed. So that it was quite natural for an evangelist beginning to tell the story of how the sorrow of "Mary and her sister Martha" was turned into joy by the raising of their brother from the dead to say, "It was the Mary of The Great Anointing we so often speak about, whose brother Lazarus was sick."

A. R. S.

THE MEANING OF 'Ο ΚΟΣΜΟΣ IN JAMES III. 6.

Καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα πῦρ, ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας, ἡ γλῶσσα καθίσταται ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν, ἡ σπιλοῦσα ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, καὶ φλογίζουσα τὸν τροχὸν τῆς γενέσεως καὶ φλογιζομένη ὑπὸ τῆς γεέννης.

"THE tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity; so is the tongue amongst our members, that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature, and is set on fire of hell" (A.V.).

"The tongue is a fire; the world of iniquity among our members is the tongue, which defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the wheels of nature, and is set on fire by hell" (R.V.).

As long as the Authorised Version of the New Testament was generally accepted as fairly representing the original Greek to the English reader, the rendering of ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικιας seemed to be little open to objection. The expression used could be paralleled by various colloquial phrases, such as "a world of troubles," and by quotations from the poets, such as Dryden's "A world of woes despatched in little space," and Shakespeare's "O what a world of vile ill-favoured faults Looks handsome on three hundred pounds a year." To those, again, who could refer only to the Latin Vulgate, "a world of iniquity" appeared to be an adequate version of "Universitas iniquitatis," as indeed it is, for the totality or sum total of a thing is the primary meaning of *Universitas*; the meaning of the whole world or universe being derived and secondary. But as the Vulgate rendering has had an enormous influence on subsequent versions, it may be well to observe at the outset that the meaning given to the Greek is misleading; for, apart from the necessary failure to express the Greek definite article, it is hardly competent to describe the tongue, however potent an instrument of evil it may be, as the sum total of iniquity.

Another Latin version (Speculum and Priscillian), quoted by Mayor, gives a better sense: "Mundus iniquitatis per linguam constat in membris nostris quae maculat totum corpus," etc. A world of iniquity, a kind of sinful *microcosm*, is constituted in our members by means of the tongue, which stains the whole body. This, although it gives good sense, can hardly be called a translation of the Greek.

The difficulty for the average English reader began

when the Revisers of 1881 quite properly took due account of the Greek definite article, and rendered the expression "the world of iniquity." The new version at once removed the phrase from the region of ordinary colloquialisms. We speak of "a world of trouble," but we do not speak of "the world of trouble." Still, whatever difficulty the new version may create, the definite article is there and must be translated.

What then is the precise meaning of "the world of iniquity," and how can it be predicated of the tongue? Or, if we fail to discover a satisfactory answer to these questions, is there any other alternative rendering possible? In order to arrive at a conclusion on these points it is necessary to examine carefully the history and meaning of the Greek word *κόσμος* in the Classics and as used in the LXX and in the New Testament.

The derivation of *κόσμος* (*cosmos*) is uncertain, but it is probably connected with *κομάω*, to take care of, attend to, and so order. The primary meaning is therefore orderly grace or beauty, hence ornament, decoration, especially of women, *mundus muliebris*: from this came the meaning of, the world or universe from its perfect arrangement. In the LXX the prevailing meaning is that of ornament, but the word is also used of the host of heaven (Gen. ii. 1; Deut. iv. 19 and elsewhere), in the Apocrypha rarely of the inhabited world. In one passage, Proverbs xvii. 6, *ὅλος ὁ κόσμος τῶν χρημάτων*—a phrase not represented in the Hebrew text—the meaning may possibly be "the sum total of possessions," but this is by no means certain.

In the New Testament *κόσμος* occurs frequently, and especially so in the Gospel and Epistles of St. John, where it signifies: (1) the world in which we live, "every man coming into the world," (*πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον*), i. 9. (2) The universe, "the world was made

by Him" (ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο), i. 10. (3) All who dwell in the world, "God so loved the world," etc. (οὕτω γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, κ.τ.λ.). (4) The evil world, the world as opposed to Christ and His teaching, "I am not of the world" (ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου), xvii. 14.

In the Pauline Epistles the same meanings are found, and in 1 Peter iii. 3, κόσμος is used in the prevalent Old Testament sense of adorning or ornament, "Whose adorning let it not be the outward adorning (ὁ ἔξωθεν . . . κόσμος) of plaiting the hair, and of wearing jewels of gold or of putting on of apparel." With this compare 1 Timothy ii. 9, "In like manner (I will) that women adorn themselves (κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς) in modest apparel," etc. Nowhere in the New Testament does the word appear to have the meaning of the mass or totality of things, and yet this is the signification attached to it in St. James iii. 6 by the majority of modern commentators.

Schleusner, citing the passage under consideration, renders the word by *magna copia, abundantia, multitudo,* and compares its use in 2 Peter ii. 5, "the world of the ungodly" (κόσμῳ ἀσεβῶν)—certainly not a parallel instance. Schoettgen in the same sense explains the word by *insignis aut infinita multitudo,* but illustrates the use only by 2 Peter ii. 5 and Proverbs xvii. 6 (see supra). Alford translates, "that world of iniquity," and quotes with approval a comment by Estius "*quia (lingua) peccata omnigena parit.*" So also Bishop Moberly, "It means that every sort of evil and mischief in the greatest abundance may be wrought by an ungoverned tongue." [1]

Of these renderings, which are typical of others, it may be remarked that the presence of the definite article seems to be ignored; and that a rare and possibly unsupported meaning is given to κόσμος (*cosmos*).

[1] S.P.C.K. Commentary.

But a more serious objection lies against these and other interpretations on the same plane. Dr. Plumptre puts the case thus, "As uttering all evil thoughts and desires, no element of unrighteousness was absent from it, and that which includes all the elements of anything well deserves the name of being its *cosmos*." [1] Is there not here a logical confusion between the utterance of evil of all kinds, and the evil itself or the source of evil?" Undoubtedly the tongue, by its utterance, may become the instrument and source of many evils, but it would be contrary to the teaching of St. James himself in this very Epistle to assert that the tongue contained all the elements of unrighteousness. "It is lust that when it hath conceived beareth sin," i. 15. Again, "Whence come wars and whence come fightings among you? Come they not hence even of your pleasures that war in your members?" iv. 1. Here sin and unrighteousness are conceived of quite apart from the evils of the tongue, and are capable of existing unuttered in the silence of shame.

Another explanation which is much more definite is drawn from the conception of the whole constitution of man as a *microcosm*, or world in itself, an image in small of the whole universe. "*Frequens est a macrocosmo ad microcosmum metaphora*," says Bengel. In this *microcosm*, as in the larger universe, there is a world of unrighteousness as well as a divine element of righteousness and truth, and so, as Professor Mayor says, "in our *microcosm* the tongue represents or constitutes the unrighteous world." And the same view is taken by Dr. Knowling.

It is in favour of this interpretation that a well supported meaning is given to κόσμος (*cosmos*); but, on the other hand, as we have seen above, the tongue does not comprise either in the universe or in the *microcosm* of man the whole

[1] Camb. Bible, *ad loc.*

of unrighteousness. The tongue is an instrument of good as well as an instrument of evil. Moreover the conception of the nature of man as a *microcosm* seems to be foreign to the simplicity of St. James's style and thought.

If then it is difficult to accept the rendering of the word which we are discussing either in the Authorised Version or the Revised Version, is there any other possible interpretation which would be justified by classical and Hellenistic usage alike, and which would be free from the objections to which the other suggested interpretations are open ?

It will have been seen in the survey which we have made of the use of κόσμος that the meaning which lies most near to the root idea of the word is that of beauty as expressed in order, as in the order of the universe or the orderly array of an army, and so generally " ornament " or " embellishment," and that this is the predominant use of the word in the LXX version of the Old Testament.

If then we render this passage, " the ornament or embellishment of unrighteousness is the tongue, defiling though it does the whole body," we give it a meaning which makes the definite article intelligible, and which removes the difficulty of regarding the tongue as the totality of evil, and which is most natural in a writer whose thoughts and mode of expression are so deeply affected by his familiarity with the Old Testament Scriptures.

There is, moreover, another reason which strongly favours this interpretation.

This is the *locus classicus* in the New Testament on the subject of the evils which rise from the unbridled use of the tongue ; and it is hardly conceivable that in a description of so much weight and importance, conveying warnings of the utmost moment to his disciples at a distance, the Bishop of the Church in Jerusalem should have omitted to particularise or even to hint at the one most glaring and

perilous offence of the tongue which the Psalmists and Prophets of the Old Testament never failed to denounce in this connexion, the offences of guile and deceitfulness.

A few instances may be cited: "Though wickedness be sweet in his mouth, though he hide it under his tongue" (Job xx. 12); "Under his tongue is mischief and iniquity" (Ps. x. 7); "With flattering lip and with a double heart do they speak" (Ps. xii. 2), and so *passim*; "He that hideth hatred with lying lips" (Prov. x. 18); "He that hateth dissembleth with his lips" (Prov. xxvi. 24); "Their tongue is deceitful in their mouth" (Micah vi. 12). But it is unnecessary to multiply examples. It is hardly too much to say that where sin is mentioned in connexion with the tongue that sin is deceit and falsehood. The character of the Israelite indeed is that of one in whom there is no guile (John i. 47); and of the Master Himself it is said: "Neither was guile found in his mouth" (1 Pet. ii. 22).

It is to be observed in all these, and numberless parallel passages, there is no attempt to fasten on the tongue the whole mass or totality of wickedness, but the special charteristic of deceitfulness is attributed to it over and over again.

The Greek dramatist notes the same besetting sin of the tongue, and uses almost the same language as St. James:

> οἵμοι κακούργους ἄνδρας ὡς ἐγὼ στυγῶ
> οἱ συντίθεντες τἄδικ' εἶτα μηχαναῖς
> κοσμοῦσι.—Eur. Ion. 832

So also Shakespeare, in the *Comedy of Errors*:—

> Look sweet, speak fair, become disloyalty,
> Apparel Vice like Virtue's harbinger.

Indeed so characteristic of the tongue is this evil that to 'gloze' or 'gloss' words directly derived from the Greek γλῶσσα signifies to deceive or cheat. "Glozing the evil that is in the world" (Jer. Taylor). "So glozed the tempter" (Milton). "Lay these glozes by" (Shakespeare).

Considering this consensus of indictment, whereby the tongue is accused of this predominant sin of deceitfulness, it is reasonable to expect to find the same indictment conveyed by ὁ κόσμος in this passage—the adorning (see 1 Tim. ii. 9, R.V.) that is the fair-seeming screen or cloke of iniquity, the embellishment of unrighteousness.

An objection raised against this rendering of κόσμος, cited by Alford from Huther, seems hardly worthy of consideration. Κόσμος, he says, "never signifies that which actively adorns, but that wherewith a thing or person is adorned." The distinction is certainly not obvious, and the proposed interpretation is not without good authority. Mayor quotes Gesner, Wetstein, Semler, Storr, Ewald, and others as giving it their support. It is paraphrased in Cramer's catena as: ἐγκαλλώπισμα [δοκεῖ] τῆς ἀδικίας. Compare with this ἐπικάλυμμα τῆς κακίας (or cloke of maliciousness) (1 Pet. ii. 16).

"Thus interpreted the sentence might have been written ἡ γλῶσσα . . . κοσμοῦσα τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ σπιλοῦσα ὅλον τὸ σῶμα. The tongue adorning and embellishing iniquity, and yet defiling and staining the whole body and personality of a man." [1]

ARTHUR CARR.

STUDIES IN THE PAULINE THEOLOGY.

X. THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT.

(1) THE purpose of God is fulfilled in the individual believer by the presence and the power of the Holy Spirit. This conception is not new in the Christian revelation, still less new in the teaching of Paul; although the filial relation between God and Man constituted in Christ gives to this

[1] Quoted from the present writer's notes on St. James, *Cambridge Greek Testament.*

immanent activity of God a fresh content, and Paul sharing the common Christian tradition in regard to this doctrine gives it a fresh interpretation. In the Old Testament the Spirit represents God's manifold activity in nature and in man. Any special endowment of strength, skill, wisdom or insight is attributed to the work of the Spirit in man. While generally the emphasis is laid on what are conceived to be supernatural endowments, yet the working of the Spirit of God in the moral and religious life is recognized. The psalmist prays for inward renewal—

> Create in me a clean heart, O God;
> And renew a right spirit within me.
> Cast me not away from thy presence;
> And take not thy Holy Spirit from me."
>
> (Psalm li. 10, 11.)

The prophet complains of Israel that "they rebelled and grieved his holy spirit" (Isa. lxiii. 10). The more characteristic Old Testament doctrine is found, however, in Joel ii. 28, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." The prophet rather than the saint is the man filled with the Spirit.

(2) In the Book of Acts the doctrine of the Holy Spirit receives great prominence. While we may detect Luke's personal peculiarity in the representation given, yet there can be little doubt that in this respect he was in close sympathy with the primitive Church, and its distinctive experience was congenial to him. The passage just quoted from Joel, to which Peter refers in his defence on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 14–36), strikes the keynote of this experience. It is the extraordinary, miraculous, supernatural which receives almost exclusive attention. The *speaking with other tongues* is the characteristic evidence of the Spirit's operation at

Pentecost (ver. 4). By the "laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given" to the converts in Samaria, and Simon thought that the gift to endow with such supernatural power could be bought (viii. 18, 19). "The Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, that the eunuch saw him no more" (viii. 39). The disciples whom Paul met at Ephesus not only had not in believing been conscious of this supernatural endowment, but were even ignorant of its bestowal. But, when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Spirit came upon them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied" (xix. 1–7). Generally the work of the Spirit is connected with the *charismata*, such as speaking with tongues, and prophesying. A guidance of the Church by the Spirit, however, is asserted in the separation of Paul and Barnabas for missionary work (xiii. 2). Paul and his companions are represented as controlled in their movements by the Holy Ghost, called also "the Spirit of Jesus" (xvi. 6, 7). The psychological study of religious revivals makes intelligible and credible some of the phenomena. Dr. Bartlett in his *Commentary on Acts* has suggested that, when the term Holy Spirit is used without the article, it is intended to describe the human condition and not the divine agency, and that the human condition might be fitly expressed by the term "holy enthusiasm." The certainty of the Risen Lord and of the salvation assured in Him filled the primitive community with such abounding religious vitality as is often witnessed in a religious revival. There was an intense emotional disturbance; and this was then, as it has often been since, accompanied by unusual phenomena, such as ecstatic utterances, impassioned prayer and praise, visions. The extraordinary features are not, there is good reason to hold, of an essentially supernatural or miraculous character, although they must appear so to all who have no

investigated the abnormal psychological conditions on which these depend. What is supernatural is the reality of the contact of the human spirit with the divine Spirit, which gives to the religious revival its value and efficacy in changing human lives. That the Holy Spirit of God was present and potent in the primitive Christian community, as He has again and again been in the history of the Christian Church, is a fact which need not be doubted or denied. The apostolic Church laid emphasis on those features which seem to us now less significant ; and Luke, who was a man of his own time, has in his record possibly even exaggerated this emphasis.

(3) Paul too shared the common belief of the time and place. For him too speaking with tongues, prophesyings, visions were the distinctive gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor. xii. 9–10). Although he is reluctant to make the claim, yet he knew himself to be πνευματικός (1 Cor. ii. 15 ; Gal. vi. 1), a Spirit-filled man in this respect also. He had " visions and revelations of the Lord " (2 Cor. xii. 1). He knew " such a man (whether in the body, or apart from the body, I know not ; God knoweth), how that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter " (vers. 3 and 4). He thanks God that he can speak with tongues more than all the Corinthian converts, who were so proud of their endowment (1 Cor. xiv. 18). Among the things Christ wrought through him he reckons what was done " in the power of signs and wonders, in the power of the Holy Ghost " (Rom. xv. 19). Great as Paul was, he did not so transcend his environment as to be unaffected by it. He not only shared the " holy enthusiasm " of the primitive community, as he shared the common faith in the Crucified and Risen Christ, which was its source ; but he too caught the contagion of the abnormal psychical conditions which were its accom-

paniments. This does not show any such mental instability in him as justifies any suspicion or distrust of his general mental sanity. We need not assume any disease or defect in him to explain this religious sensibility. Nor need it surprise us that he did not reach the modern scientific view of these phenomena.

(4) He does display an exceptional, moral and religious insight, however, in the estimate he formed of the value of these *charismata*. It is to our great advantage that the condition of the Church in Corinth led him to discuss this question fully (1 Cor. xii.–xiv.). First of all he insists that it is in the confession, and not the denial of Jesus as Lord, that the Spirit is manifested (xii. 3). Secondly, he recognizes the diversities of gifts of the same Spirit, and reckons among these wisdom, knowledge, faith, as well as gifts of healing, workings of miracles, prophecy, divers kinds of tongues, etc. (vers. 4–11). He thus at the outset corrects the overestimation of the one class of gifts current in Corinth. Thirdly, he shows by the analogy of the body with its many members and their varied functions, the mutual dependence of all believers in the Christian Church, whatever their gifts may be, and their duty of reciprocal service (vers. 12–31). Fourthly, he offers " a still more excellent way " than even the use of the gifts for the common good. This is *love*, without which no service has any value, which alone is capable of meeting every demand that can be made upon it, which is not imperfect, and so temporary as many of these gifts are, and which with faith and hope alone abides, while it is greatest of the three (xiii.). To this general principle that love is better than any gifts, and alone gives worth to their use, Paul gives a special application, due probably to the local circumstances (xiv.). He compares speaking with tongues, or ecstatic utterances, with prophecy, or impassioned speech for illumination, edification, correction of the

hearers. As the first, unless interpreted, is not generally intelligible, and so edifies only the speakers, it is always to be subordinated to the second, which brings advantage to all. There is to be such self-restraint in the use of the gifts as will secure in the common worship the greatest usefulness for all. "Let all things be done decently, and in order" (ver. 40). While in the popular opinion within the Church, probably not in Corinth alone, the value of a spiritual gift depended on its unusual character, on the wonder it excited, the test Paul applied was the purpose served; that is best which does most good to all. It is further to be observed that even when Paul is driven by the depreciation to which he was exposed by his enemies to assert his abundant possession of these gifts, he is apologetic in his tone, "I must needs glory, though it is not expedient" (2 Cor. xii. 1). He recognizes that there is a danger of pride in the possession, that he might have been exalted overmuch, had God not taken a means of keeping him humble (ver. 7). He does not base his apostolic authority on any of these endowments; he does not derive his message from any of these visions and revelations; he seems expressly to distinguish the appearance of Jesus to him on the way to Damascus, which called him to and fitted him for his ministry, from these subsequent experiences; he appeals in his teaching to the words of the Lord Jesus, or to his own possession of the Spirit of the Lord. His spiritual discernment saved him from any perilous over-valuation of the *charismata*.

(5) This is, however, only the negative aspect of his doctrine of the Spirit; the positive has still greater value. It is in sanctification (ἁγιασμός) that the characteristic work of the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα ἅγιον) is to be found. Believers are chosen of God "unto salvation in sanctification of the Spirit" (2 Thess. ii. 13). In the *Sixth Study* on *The Sanctification of Man* it was necessary to give a brief summary of

Paul's teaching on this subject; but here his doctrine may be somewhat more fully expounded. No man is a Christian who does not possess the Spirit. "If any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his" (Rom. viii. 9). As the Spirit is described as of Christ as well as of God, not only are the functions of the living Christ and of the indwelling Spirit not always clearly distinguished, but even in one passage Christ and the Spirit appear to be identified. Christian theology has with great subtlety defined the order of salvation, and assigned to each person in the Godhead His share in the work, but Paul shows no such care. He mentions sanctification before justification, and joins Christ and the Spirit as fellow-workers in both. "But ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God" (1 Cor. vi. 11). The operation of the Spirit in the inward transformation of man is so inseparable from, follows so inevitably on, the contemplation of Christ with the eye of faith, that Christ may be said to possess the Spirit, even to be the Spirit. "Now the Lord is the Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. But we all, with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit" (2 Cor. iii. 17, 18). There is no formal identification here of Christ and the Spirit, as Paul elsewhere clearly distinguishes the one from the other; but what is asserted is the invariable sequence of faith in Christ and renewal by the Spirit.

(6) As closely as the Spirit is connected with Christ, so clearly is His activity in man distinguished from the flesh. This opposition is fully described in Galatians v. 16–26. To walk by the Spirit is not to "fulfil the lust of the flesh" (ver. 16); to be of Christ Jesus is to "have crucified the flesh with the passions and the lusts thereof" (ver. 24).

" For the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh ; for these are contrary the one to the other " (ver. 17). This is not, however, a metaphysical dualism of the spiritual and the material ; for on the one hand the works of the flesh are not merely sensual sins, but include " enmities, strife, jealousies, wraths, factions, divisions, heresies, envyings " (vers. 20, 21), and on the other the fruit of the Spirit embraces *temperance*, or self-control in respect of the animal appetites. We need not here consider the works of the flesh ; but in the fruit of the Spirit we may see Paul's sketch of the ideal Christian character, " love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance " (vers. 22, 23). If we fill the first word " love " with the content Paul gives to it in 1 Corinthians xiii., we shall realize how large an ideal this is. The spiritual man has insight into the mind of Christ. " He that is spiritual judgeth all things, and he himself is judged of no man " (1 Cor. ii. 15). His is the highest wisdom. The spiritual man has sympathy for, and gives succour to the weak. " Brethren, even if a man be overtaken in any trespass, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in a spirit of meekness, looking to thyself, lest thou also be tempted " (Gal. vi. 1). He fulfils the law of Christ in bearing the burden of others (ver. 2). As he will also bear his own burden (ver. 5), surely to his temperance and wisdom he adds justice of the most exacting character. The courage of the spiritual man is in a sublime form expressed in Paul's confident confession in Romans viii. 37–39. To these virtues of pagan ethics are joined the three Christian graces, all of which and not love only Paul reckoned as fruit of the Spirit. As a metaphysical dualism has been ascribed to Paul, it is necessary to lay special emphasis on what he has to say about the sanctification of the body. To the sensuality of heathenism, from which even Christian believers

found it hard to gain deliverance, Paul opposes the consecration of the body to Christ. "The body is not for fornication, but for the Lord" (1 Cor. vi. 13). He asks the Corinthians with one cannot but feel some warmth of feeling, "Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have from God?" (ver. 19). As the temple of God by His Spirit, "the body is holy" (iii. 17). Sanctification by the Spirit embraces the whole personality.

(7) It is by the operation of the same Spirit that the sanctified personality is placed in a social environment appropriate to its nature. In 1 Corinthians xii. we have already the conception of the Church as a body, endowed with a diversity of gifts for the common good by the one Spirit. This idea is more fully developed in Ephesians. In Christ Jesus the ancient enmity of Jew and Gentile is removed; their reconciliation to God is also their reconciliation to one another. "We both have our access in one Spirit unto the Father" (ii. 18). "Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets" in "Christ Jesus" as "the chief corner-stone," "each several building, fully framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord, in whom also ye are builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit" (vers. 20–22). Such a reconciliation of men in God may be fully regarded as the crown of the Spirit's work in the sanctification of individual men. By the Spirit the sanctified personality will at the Resurrection be endowed with its proper body. The present operation of the Spirit in the moral and religious change in man is the promise and the pledge of this change of the natural to the spiritual body. "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, he that raised Christ Jesus from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies through his Spirit that dwelleth in you" (Rom. viii. 11). That this

transformation of " the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of his glory " is elsewhere ascribed to the Lord Jesus Christ (Phil. iii. 21) is but another instance of the close connexion in Paul's thought between the work of Christ and of the Spirit.

(8) Turning from the operation of the Spirit in the moral character, the social environment, and even the physical organism of man, we must fix our attention on what was for Paul possibly of primary importance, the religious consciousness. The characteristic of the Christian religious consciousness is that of sonship ; the Spirit of God is connected with this filial consciousness not as the cause of the relation, but as the evidence and assurance of the fact in consciousness. What constitutes a man a son of God is faith in Jesus Christ. " Ye are all sons of God, through faith, in Christ Jesus " (Gal. iii. 26). An immediate consequence of the relationship is the consciousness of it through the Spirit. " Because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father " (iv. 6). A certain evidence of the relationship is the guidance of the Spirit. " As many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God " (Rom. viii. 14). The Spirit so guiding is, amid all fears, doubts and questions of the soul, a constant assurance of sonship. " The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God " (ver. 16). This life of sonship is exercised and maintained by prayer ; and even in this most intimate communion of man with God, the Spirit's help is experienced. " In like manner the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity ; for we know not how to pray as we ought ; but the Spirit himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered ; and he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God " (vers. 26, 27). The Christian

himself cannot clearly understand, cannot fully express the yearnings and strivings of this new life in God ; but God's Spirit does understand, and can express in His immediate relation to, and intimate communion with God all that baffles human powers. God satisfies the aspirations He by His own Spirit inspires. How constant is the presence and varied the activity of the Spirit in the believer may be proved by considering the terms applied. " The Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and death " (ver. 2). Christians " walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit " (ver. 4). " The Spirit of God *dwelleth* in you " (ver. 9). The sons of God " are led by the Spirit of God " (ver. 14). " The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit " (ver. 16). The spiritual man speaks " not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Spirit teacheth " (1 Cor. ii. 13). All the varied gifts in the Church " worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally even as he will " (xii. 11). This Spirit in its manifold present workings is the promise of the fulfilment of the Christian's hope ; we " have the firstfruits of the Spirit " (Rom. viii. 23). It is evident that the whole " inner life " of the believer is embraced by " the communion of the Holy Ghost," through which is realized in each man " the love of God " which has been revealed to mankind in " the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ " (2 Cor. xiii. 14).

(9) There are three questions regarding the Holy Spirit to which we must seek an answer, the nature of the Spirit, the relation of the Spirit to Christ, and the distinction of the Spirit from the spiritual life of man. Paul conceives man as body, soul, and spirit ; but soul and spirit are not as distinct as body and soul. Man is soul in his individuality, he is spirit as dependent on God. There is one passage in which Paul appears to think of the Holy Spirit as being in God what spirit is in man. " For who among men knoweth

the things of a man save the spirit of the man, which is in him ? even so the things of God none knoweth, save the Spirit of God " (1 Cor. ii. 11). At first sight the words seem to describe the Spirit as God's self-consciousness ; but the context shows that it is no such speculative question about which Paul is concerned. What the wisdom of the world could not discover, " the deep things of God," the Spirit reveals to believers, for as a man knows himself better than any other can know him, so the Spirit of God knows God better than any human sages can. Speculative constructions of the Trinity can find no apostolic support in this passage.

(10) It must be admitted that the word spirit is used sometimes in a vague sense. When Christ is described as *πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν* (1 Cor. xv. 45) He is not identified with the Holy Spirit ; but is thought of as the spiritual in contrast with Adam the natural or the psychical man. So also when the covenant of the spirit is contrasted with the covenant of the letter (*γράμμα*, 2 Cor. iii. 6) it is not the Holy Spirit that is directly referred to ; but rather a covenant inward in the higher life of man as opposed to a covenant outward controlling only his acts. In the closing verses of this passage (17 and 18) this vaguer sense of the term is abandoned, and the Holy Spirit is referred to as the power of the new life in man, but is not, as has been already shown in the previous discussion, actually identified with Christ. But the passage does raise the question, Is the Spirit's operation anything else than the working of the risen Christ Himself, for so closely are the gifts and fruits of the Spirit connected with faith in His grace ? It is impossible for us to distinguish in our experience the workings of the Spirit and of the living Christ ; and it seems irreverent for us to attempt to go beyond what experience testifies to speculate about the differences of the persons in the Godhead ;

but the language used by Paul about the manifold workings of the Spirit forbids the assumption that he thought of the Spirit as merely the subjective influence and impression of the truth and grace of Christ. It is God Himself, in this activity distinguished both from the Father revealed and the Son revealing, who enters with fulness of power into the innermost life of all who receive this revelation, so that the intimate communion of the soul with Christ becomes an immediate habitation and operation of God Himself in man. The fellowship of the Spirit makes the love of God through the grace of Christ the very life of God Himself in man.

(11) As it is impossible to separate the work of the Spirit and of Christ, so we cannot distinguish the Spirit's action from the spiritual activities of man. Those who think they do honour to the Spirit by attempting to conceive the personality of the Spirit seem essentially to misconceive the Spirit's work. By the Spirit God's life becomes man's, and man's life is in God ; and the attempt consciously to objectify the Spirit is to exclude Him from His habitation in the soul of man. But on the other hand we must avoid the still greater error of supposing that in the Christian life there is no Spirit's action—only man's spiritual activity. At its truest, tenderest, holiest the soul is most conscious of its insufficiency, and that its sufficiency is only in God. It is surely to misconceive God as well as man to doubt or deny His personal immanence in His Spirit in the higher life of man. Wherever truth is thought, or love cherished, or holiness willed, there God is and works. This does not mean quietism, human inaction that God may act. As Ritschl has properly taught, there is no spiritual good without spiritual desire and effort ; God's best gifts do not fall into folded hands. Paul, who often speaks as if God by His Spirit did all, in his own example displayed a spiritual

energy which most Christian men can admire rather than imitate.

(12) Because Paul describes the Spirit as power from God working in man, we are not warranted in holding, as some expositors do, that he conceived the Spirit as a physical energy, or even a material substance of the same kind, though in operation opposed to the flesh. For Paul God is personal, and man is personal, and God's working in man cannot be conceived as less than personal. As has already been indicated the Spirit is so related both to God and man that it is impossible to emphasize distinct personality. Mistaken, however, is the view that the Spirit can be simply identified with the common consciousness of the Christian community, or the motives which result from that consciousness. For Paul the Spirit is an objective divine reality, however intimately related to the Christian's subjective human experience. Once more, as has been fully shown, while Paul shared the common belief regarding the supernatural gifts of the Spirit, this is not the distinctive feature in his teaching. The Spirit as the Spirit of God is supernatural, but He works not only or mainly in extraordinary phenomena, but in the inward renewal of the soul. That Paul held explicitly the doctrine of the Spirit formulated in the œcumenical creeds we have no warrant to maintain. That he was dependent both on the teaching of the Old Testament and the belief of the primitive community may be freely conceded. What must not be overlooked, and needs to be emphasized is that so intense and original an experience as his was gave him an insight which has enabled him to contribute something fresh, and true and worthy as it is fresh, to Christian thought on this theme.

Alfred E. Garvie.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

XIII. The Idea of Motherhood in the Letters of Paul.

The Apostle is speaking in ii. 9–12 of the conduct of women in the public assembly, though he gradually goes off into the wider topic of their conduct in life generally. They should learn silently (i.e. without asking questions openly in the assembly as men did)[1] in a spirit of peaceful submission to constituted authority (i.e. the officials, and the regulations of the Church, and also doubtless their husbands);[2] and Paul does not permit them to teach (i.e. publicly in the assembly of the congregation), nor to assume a position of authority over a man, but requires them to refrain from (public) action. He is silent about their right to prophesy; but that right he could not deny, where the Holy Spirit prompted, though it does not lie in his purpose throughout this letter to emphasize the right of prophesying or speaking with tongues in the assembly either for men or for women.

Then follows a quaint example of the way in which the Jews were wont to derive arguments from Scripture and to twist and torture its words in order to support the opinion which they were stating. Even where Paul is expressing a truth which he sees clearly with direct and unerring intuition, he sometimes draws from the Old Testament arguments which to us seem tortuous special-pleading and quite valueless as reasoning. The Jewish mind reasoned in a totally different way from us ; and its line of reasoning often offends us. But we must not identify the truth of the opinion

[1] Compare 1 Cor. xiv. 35.

[2] Although that is not stated expressly here, it is in Paul's mind always, 1 Cor. xiv. 34 f., Tit. ii. 5.

with the validity of the reasoning, or conclude that, because the argument is to us unconvincing, the opinion is therefore untrue.

Accordingly, we may set aside as not appealing to our minds and barely intelligible to us the argument drawn from the conduct of Adam and Eve. So far as it is intelligible, it fails to strengthen Paul's case in the judgment of modern readers. But his case is quite independent of the argument.

Moreover, his argument leads up to a most profound and a much misunderstood remark. In the primordial association with the temptation of evil, woman had been led into transgression ; but the saving power remained in her own nature. What is this saving fact in the nature of woman ? Opinion has been much divided as to the meaning of ii. 15 ; and I confess that none of the interpretations which the commentators give seem to touch the real sense and thought of Paul. The leading methods of interpretation are five. (1) She shall be saved through child-bearing, i.e. as the means of her salvation ; a narrow view, open to many objections (among others, that it would apparently imply that only a woman who bears a child shall be saved, a thought which is absolutely un-Pauline).

(2) She shall be saved during the time of her child-bearing : although that is the period of the curse pronounced on her, yet in it she shall gain salvation, if she continue in faith and love and thanksgiving with sober-mindedness.[1] This interpretation can be defended as an instance of the discursiveness and looseness of the Pastoral Epistles. One feels that it diverges from the direct line of the thought, and that there is about it a want of definiteness and of firm grasp of a central guiding idea ; but many will not consider this

[1] The thought is universal ; and, though the expression begins in the generic singular, "she," it changes ungrammatically to the plural "if they continue."

objection to have any strength, because they find throughout the Pastoral Epistles the same want of that compactness and nervous energy which are characteristic of Paul. But, as it appears to me, the discursiveness of these Epistles takes the form of unexpected transition from one thought to another, and of loose connexion between the successive ideas and topics that come up for treatment: it rarely appears in any want of definite firm grasp and decisive treatment of each thought singly. The fault of this interpretation, then, lies in its being rather weak and disappointing; and those who are not offended by that in the Pastoral Epistles will prefer it. It seems at first sight reasonable and not wholly out of keeping with Paul's tone of mind and thought. Personally, I could not accept it; and it may be added that, as regards the language, we should expect that if Paul intended to say this, he would have used the preposition ἐν, not διά. But, when one considers this interpretation more carefully, one asks whether it can be Pauline. What does it imply? What is the means through which it supposes that the salvation of the woman is wrought? Through the time of child-bearing, in the hour when the primordial curse is upon her, she shall be saved, if she continue in faith and love and thanksgiving with sober-mindedness. Could Paul ever have put salvation on so external an issue as this? Let her be virtuous and she will be saved. One can understand that those who interpret in this fashion cannot accept Paul as the author—unless they have an astonishing power of shutting their eyes and minds to the possibilities of human development in thought. The soul of the Pauline thought lies in the underlying and indwelling idea of power. Where is the power here? There is only a moral platitude.

(3) Some scholars, therefore, abandon wholly the idea that spiritual salvation is involved in the word "she shall be

saved" : because they rightly see that the attempt to import it into the sentence on this construction is a failure. Yet they cling to the construction, and take "she shall be saved" in a simpler and purely non-spiritual sense, "women shall be brought safely through their child-bearing, if they continue in faith, etc." The sense is rather poor, narrow, and below the standard of Paul ; but those who regard the Epistle as a forgery will not see any strength in this objection. But at least they will probably admit that, in any work of literature, the noblest and widest meaning, if it lies clearly within the unforced words, ought to be credited to the writer ; and I think that a much nobler meaning lies within the scope of these words.

(4) She shall be saved because of her motherhood, i.e. because she is the mother of the race. This sense of διά, "by reason of," can hardly be admitted. Moreover, the course of the thought demands here a statement of the means by which she shall be saved, not of the reason why she shall find salvation.

(5) Von Soden, rightly feeling that all these interpretations are poor and unsatisfying, took refuge in a more mystical view. According to him Paul, when using the term "she" in the singular, is thinking of the generic idea "woman"—which is, of course, quite true—and from this he naturally passes to the idea of the typical woman, Eve. Accordingly woman, i.e. all women, shall be saved through the child-bearing of the typical woman, Eve, because therefrom sprang the Saviour Jesus Christ. The thought is extremely ingenious ; but it is too clever, and it shipwrecks on the preposition διά, which it takes in the sense "by reason of."

It seems necessary, so far as I can judge, to return to the simple and natural construction, "She shall gain salvation by means of her motherhood (τεκνογονία)" ; but the whole

question turns on what Paul meant when he used this term τεκνογονία. He is thinking philosophically, and not of a mere physical process. We have to take into consideration the whole manner of expression in Greek philosophic thought, and the whole history of Greek progress in language and in thought from the simple and concrete to the philosophic and abstract, from Homer to Aristotle and Paul. In that progress the Greek language was engaged in the creation of abstract nouns, just as Greek thought was teaching itself to generalize and to distinguish between ideas which are bound up with one another in the concrete world. If we had before us the works of Athenodorus the Tarsian, we should be better able to appreciate the linguistic task which Paul had to perform when he sought to express in Greek a Christian philosophy, and better able to understand the way in which he attempted to solve the problem before him.[1]

We must remember how simple and concrete are often the terms by which Greek attempted to express the highest thoughts of moral and metaphysical philosophy. Plato hardly attempted to create a language of the higher philosophy. He argues in the concrete example; he takes refuge in metaphor and poetry and myth, when he must attempt to give expression to the highest philosophical ideas. Aristotle set himself to create a technical terminology in the region of metaphysics; and how simple are his means. The essential nature of a thing is "the what-is-it?" of the thing, τὸ τί ἐστι; i.e. "the answer to the question, what is it?" The idealized goodness of a thing is τὸ ἀγαθῷ εἶναι: the law of its development is to τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι.[2] How perfectly plain

[1] *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 354; *The Cities of St. Paul*, p. 216 ff.

[2] I give my own idea of this much-disputed metaphysical term, which perhaps nobody will accept as a translation; but at least all recognize that the idea in Aristotle's mind was highly abstract and metaphysical, and that the words are chosen from the commonest range of expression used by every Greek peasant.

and common are the words! How close to ordinary life! And yet what a lofty philosophic sense does Aristotle read into them.

Or again, let us turn to the Attic tragedy, which sounded the depths and estimated the heights of human feeling. I take an example which leads up suitably to the thought in this passage of the Tarsian Apostle—a passage the discussion of which by a modern writer [1] first opened to me the realm of Greek thought, and showed me, when I was a student in Aberdeen, how different is interpretation from translation, and how easily one may learn to translate without having any conception of the real meaning of an ancient poet. Sophocles in the *Electra* pictures Clytemnestra as she realizes the dread bond of emotion that unites a mother to her son. She appreciates its power all the better that it is unwelcome to her. It is too strong for her, and masters her will. And how does she express this? She uses no abstract terms, but four of the simplest and most commonplace words, *δεινὸν τὸ τίκτειν ἐστίν*. Those who are content with translating according to the lexicon would render these words, "the giving birth to a child is a painful thing," and miss all the wealth of feeling and thought that lies in them. There cannot be a doubt that Sophocles was expressing the truth,[2] which every one must appreciate who passes through the

[1] I have been trying in vain to recall the writer and the book. My memory in a vague way connects the incident with George Eliot.

[2] The context removes all doubt: the following words are enough—

δεινὸν τὸ τίκτειν ἐστίν· οὐδὲ γὰρ κακῶς
πάσχοντι μῖσος ὧν τέκῃ προσγίγνεται,

which the late Professor Lewis Campbell renders—

To be a mother hath a marvellous power,
No injury can make one hate one's child.

Moreover, the translation which is condemned in the text above approaches perilously near the grammatical crime of taking the present infinitive in the sense of the aorist infinitive.

real experiences of life, that there is no power in human nature more tremendous, more overmastering, more dread to contemplate in some of its manifestations, than the tie of motherhood. Only when the human nature in her is deadened and brutalized or buried, can the woman become stronger than that tie. It is the divine strength moving in her, and it can bend or break her, if she resists.

In this feeling of motherhood Paul found the power that he needed for his purpose. Here is the divine strength in the nature of woman, which can drive her as it will, and which will be her salvation, "if she continue in faith and love and thanksgiving with sober-mindedness"; but which may drive her in the wrong direction if it be not guided by those qualities. The idea of power, of growth, of striving towards an end outside of oneself, always underlies Paul's conception of the relation of a human being towards God. To his Greek hearers he often compared the true Christian life to the straining effort of a runner competing for the prize, because he knew that there he touched a feeling which was extraordinarily strong in the mind of a Greek man. In the woman's nature the maternal instinct presented itself as a force that had more absolute power over her than any emotion in a man's nature had over him. Paul rarely touches on the love between the sexes, and had small respect for it as a divine emotion capable under proper guidance of working out the salvation of either man or woman.

In giving expression to this psychological observation, Paul was under the influence of his own time, when philosophical expression was more developed. Abstract nouns had been created in great numbers to express the higher ideas of thought; an abstract noun was needed to express this idea of the power of maternal instinct; and Paul found it in τεκνογονία, which is a simpler and certainly not a less reasonable or correct term than a sham word like "philo-

progenitiveness" or a question-begging circumlocution like "maternal instinct."

Thus, as so often elsewhere in the Pastoral Epistles, the apparent difficulty is caused by a wrong point of view, and disappears as soon as one looks from the right point of view. The "maternal instinct" does not require actual physical motherhood. It may be immensely powerful in a childless woman, and may be her salvation, though it is, of course, quickened in a wonderful degree towards her own child, and is often dormant until so quickened.

I do not remember that Paul touches this spring of life in any of his earlier letters. But what rational critic would find in that any proof that this letter is not his composition? Is there any of Paul's letters which does not throw its own distinct rays of light on his character? Is there any of them which can be cut away without narrowing and impoverishing to some degree our knowledge of his nature? Must we regard it as an essential condition in proving the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles that they should contain nothing which widens our knowledge of him or throws new light on his character? Rather, would it not be a conclusive reason against Pauline authorship, if it were wholly immaterial to our conception of Paul's personality whether they were accepted or rejected? Moreover, we observe also that, in writing to Timothy, Paul addressed one who probably gained from his home life a strong sense of what maternal feeling is. Paul had a marvellous power of unconsciously sympathizing with his correspondents. It is only in writing to Timothy that he gives a picture of home life (2 Tim. i. 5) under a mother's care. He uses the word "mother" twice in writing to Timothy: except in two quotations from the Old Testament (Eph. v. 31, vi. 2), he uses it only three times in all the rest of his letters put together (Rom. xvi. 13, as a metaphor to express his affection

for a friend's mother :[1] Gal. i. 15, iv. 26, in a generic and unemotional sense). He does not show the want of love for the idea of mother which is conspicuous in Horace ;[2] but except in sympathy with Timothy he nowhere shows a deep sense of what a mother is and feels and does to her child.

These considerations explain why two words otherwise unknown in Paul's writings[3] are forced on him in expressing his thought on this subject. The word for grandmother is "un-Pauline" ; but where else could Paul use it except in 2 Timothy i. 5 ? where else does his interest in family life appear ? The word for motherhood is used only in 1 Timothy ii. 15, but that is the only place in which he speaks of the idea that lies in the word. The wider terminology of the Pastoral Epistles, called through a too narrow outlook "un-Pauline," really corresponds to and is the inevitable result of a wider range of thought.

The use of the verb τεκνογονεῖν in the physical sense in 1 Timothy v. 14 is no proof that the abstract noun derived from it must also have the physical sense in Paul. Sophocles uses τίκτειν often in the physical sense ; but that does not prevent him from employing it in the philosophic or emotional sense in the passage quoted above.

XIV. The Bishops or Elders of the Congregation.

The description of the character of Bishops and Deacons (iii. 1–7) is probably largely responsible for the prejudice against the Pastoral Epistles ; and it cannot be denied that there is a certain externality about the passage. Nowhere else does Paul in so long a passage say so little that touches

[1] With this compare 1 Tim. v. 2 : παρακάλει . . . πρεσβυτέρας ὡς μητέρας.

[2] The writer has studied this side of Horace's poetry in *Macmillan's Magazine*, Oct., 1897, pp. 450–457, on "The Childhood of Horace," and advanced a theory to account for it.

[3] Unknown also elsewhere in the New Testament.

the heart of his subject or of mankind. Here, again, the difficulty seems to lie in the point of view. The opinion seems to be commonly entertained—to judge from much of what has been written on these passages—that Paul is describing the ideal Bishop and the ideal Deacon. Nothing can be further from the truth.

What then was the writer's intention in those words, and how did he understand that Timothy should read them ? As it appears to me, Paul indicates in the opening words the intention which he has, and the point of view from which the whole passage must be understood by the reader. "If a man desires the office of bishop, he is seeking for an honourable work."[1] This statement, put so prominently at the beginning of the paragraph, is extremely important. The question then is what we are to gather from the opening sentence, on which Paul evidently lays so strong emphasis.

In the first place, this statement implies that the office was aimed at and sought for : in other words, there were candidates for the office, persons who were known to be desirous of the office. This is not consistent with the opinion that bishops were selected and appointed by one single administrator or head. In the Church of that period, where the Holy Spirit was the inspiring and guiding influence, there can be no doubt that any single head of the Church, such, for example, as Paul himself in some cases, or as Timothy at Ephesus in the present case, would act under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and would pick out and appoint on his own responsibility and of his own knowledge, with or without consultation, "as seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to him." He would not call for candidates, and make his selection among those who applied for the office. He would

[1] The obscure and difficult adjective καλός, one of the first that a beginner in the Greek language learns to translate, and one of the most difficult for an advanced scholar to understand, unites the ideas of good and honourable and beautiful in a thoroughly Greek fashion.

know well that the best man might not apply at all. Paul, in these words, anticipates and approves of candidature; and therefore he does not understand that Timothy was to nominate the Bishops. The only alternative is that the congregation, either directly or through its officers and representatives, made the appointment by some form of election out of those who were candidates.

In the second place, it follows from this that the rest of the passage describing the Bishop is to be understood as advice about the scrutiny of candidates. Paul is not describing the ideal; had he been doing that, he would not have exhausted himself in a long list of qualities, but rather would have set before us a living being; he is dealing with the practical difficulty of sorting out and estimating the candidates. The electors may suitably begin by scrutinizing them, and setting aside those who are deficient in any of the qualifications which a Bishop ought to have. But a Bishop should have more than mere qualifications; doubtless Paul held that he must be inspired by the Holy Spirit; but at present he is only concerned with the practical difficulty of the preliminaries to appointment or election.

In the third place, we observe that in the parallel passage Titus i. 5 ff., there is no allusion to candidates. Titus has to discharge forthwith the difficult duty of appointing elders in all the cities. It was the same task which Paul had to perform when he returned through all the cities of Galatia (Acts xiv. 21 ff.), because his sudden expulsion during his first visit had prevented the proper organization of the several Churches. This was a different task from what lay before Timothy in the cities of Asia. The whole body of officials had to be quickly appointed in the Cretan cities: the whole organization had to be created: each congregation had to be scrutinized man by man, each individual's

claims and merits to be estimated, and his faults considered. Paul sketches out the way in which Titus may set about this task: probably election played some part even in Crete, but much influence would be exercised by Titus in consultation with those whom he knew to be leading men in the congregation.

In the Asian cities, among which Timothy was stationed, the Churches had been long established and organized; the attainment of office in the commonwealth of God was an object of desire; and Paul approves of this desire. But he recognizes also that when an office rouses desire, it may become an object of ambition, and may be sought for the sake of distinction, not for the sincere purpose of performing the onerous work attached to it. Hence, while expressing approval of the desire, he also states that it is a work (not a mere honour)[1]; and he enumerates the qualifications that are required to do the work.

In the fourth place, the remarks in our preceding paragraph have made it clear that the whole passage about the Bishops is not merely advice to Timothy and to other electors. It is also a caution to candidates, that they may examine themselves before publicly professing their aspiration. This is one of the cases in which the letter, though primarily a letter to Timothy personally, was influenced by the thought of reaching others.

Apart from general moral qualities which are universal conditions of church membership, there are certain qualifications that attract notice. The Bishop must be "given to hospitality." It has often been noted[2] how important a part in the early Church was played by frequent inter-

[1] Meyer-Weiss refuse to accept any such implication in ἔργου, but I cannot think that their view is justifiable.

[2] *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 288, 368; *Luke the Physician*, pp. 154, 353 f.; *Pauline and Other Studies*, pp. 118, 382–386, 402 f.

course between the scattered congregations. That was essential to its existence : without that its cohesion as an institution and its unity in belief and practice could not have been maintained. Travelling was, therefore, frequent among the Christians ; and the experience of finding everywhere amid the alien pagan society bands of fellow-Christians thinking and believing alike had a powerful influence on the traveller, as we know from the epitaph which the early Phrygian Saint, Avircius Marcellus, wrote in his old age to be placed over his own grave. An important duty for all the Brethren, and especially for the officials and representatives, was that they should be " given to hospitality." Their Brother from a distant land must not be left out of their home life, to find a dwelling for himself during his stay. He must be welcomed, and must live among the Brethren. Nor need it be thought that this hospitality was shown only to fellow-Christians. It was certainly shown also to the poor and needy and sick, whatever their religion. This procedure increased the influence of the Church, strengthened its position in society, and offered many opportunities for proselytizing. The public inns were usually filthy and immoral ; [1] and were avoided as much as possible by all travellers. Guest-friendship for mutual hospitality was common, and was reckoned among the pagans as a strong bond of union ; nor was the force of this tie likely to be neglected by the Christians in their relations to the pagan society around them.

The Bishop requires to be " apt to teach." Considering how much Paul's mind was occupied with the dangers caused in Ephesus by the false teachers, we cannot doubt that this requirement has the effect of laying on the Bishop the responsibility of correcting the false teaching by imparting the true teaching. That this is so appears from Titus i. 9,

[1] *Pauline and Other Studies*, 384 f.

where the requirement is more fully expressed. When he was writing to Timothy, Paul had in the earlier part of his letter expressed his opinion emphatically and fully about false and true teaching, and he therefore had no need to explain what he had in mind as to the Bishop's teaching. But, in writing to Titus, he had not alluded to the subject previously, and therefore it was needful to specify definitely what the Bishops had to teach, and that they must know how to supply the antidote to the false teaching. Accordingly, instead of the single word "apt to teach," [1] Paul, though he was aiming at brevity much more than in 1 Timothy, substituted the elaborate statement, "holding to the faithful word which is according to the teaching, that he may be able both to exhort in the sound doctrine, and to convict the gainsayers." That was all implied in the single word "apt-to-teach," as Paul used it. In this we have a good example of the creativeness of Paul in language, and of the manner in which the needs of the situation caused the creation of the new terms which abound in the Pastoral Epistles.[2] Not that the Greek adjective was coined by Paul. It is so obvious and natural a formation that it was doubtless used already by other philosophic writers; and it occurs in Philo. But Paul gave it a new and far richer meaning than it had before. He wanted to sum up in one word the requirement which was so much in his mind at the time, and he seized on this word and used it in the sense of "qualified by education and moral power to impart the sound Christian teaching in opposition to the many false teachers." He had never used the word before, because he had never needed it. The new circumstances demanded a word, and he supplied it.

[1] *διδακτικός*.

[2] Compare the example given in the EXPOSITOR, June, 1909, p. 489, and in the preceding section of this article.

We have here also a good example of the manner in which several slight differences between the two descriptions of the Bishop, similar in thought and word as they are, were necessitated by the different circumstances of Timothy and Titus. Another example has been given above in regard to the appointment of the Bishops. A third will be stated in an immediately following page.

Such slight variations to suit difference of situation prove that we have before us two original letters adapted to two real occasions by one writer, and not two forged Epistles concocted in imaginary circumstances, addressed to two names taken out of ancient history, but intended to emphasize one thought in one crisis of the Church. The two letters have the living quality of adaptation to real situations similar and yet differing from one another.

It may seem at first sight strange to us that Paul should think it needful to state the requirement that the Bishop should not be given to wine-drinking,[1] and should not be the sort of person that strikes others with his fists: two faults which naturally go together in a rude class of society. But we have always to bear in mind that Paul is speaking about congregations where all (except a few Jews) were converts from paganism, many of them very recent converts; and that such new Brethren could not always be trusted not to relapse into their old ways and faults of life. Hence Paul requires that the Bishop must not be a recent convert, but one who had been a Christian long enough to have proved his steadfastness and the consistency and certainty of his standard in living. He knew well (and his knowledge finds brief expression in verse 6) that the novice,

[1] That the word *πάροινος* must be taken in its own sense, and not as a figure of speech implying only "brawler," seems beyond question; see Meyer-Weiss in *Krit. exeg. Kommentar*. So also *πλήκτης* must be interpreted literally.

converted in a moment of exalted feeling, often proved unable to maintain his life continuously on the same high level. Paul had learned by many bitter lessons that the novices had to be watched over,[1] and that some of them, especially if they were blinded with self-conceit about the high standard of life to which they had attained, were liable to make a terrible break-down and fall under the jeering condemnation pronounced by the Enemy of all good (a term which includes not merely the Devil as the Arch-enemy, but all who gird at the good man and triumph when he falls into misconduct). This allusion to wine-drinking and fighting brings out very clearly that Paul in this list is (as was said above) not describing the ideal Bishop, but showing how to weed out the list of candidates.

Another of the differences between the Cretan and the Asian Churches appears in the prohibition against admitting novices to be candidates for a position among the Bishops. In the corresponding passage of the letter to Titus novices are not alluded to. Titus had to select the Elders or Bishops in new congregations, where all were novices; he must do his best with such material as he had. On the other hand, Ephesus and many Asian cities contained congregations which had by this time existed for a considerable period, and here there was a patent distinction between new converts and those of longer standing.

We observe also that the term novice, or new convert, could hardly occur in Paul's earlier writings, but only in his last letters. A certain time must pass before the founder can write to the Churches which he himself has founded in terms which presuppose a recognized distinction between new and old members. Could such a distinction by any possibility have existed in Galatia when Paul wrote to the

[1] That one was one of the wearing anxieties in "the care of all the churches," which were always with him.

Galatians ? or in Asia, when he wrote to the Ephesians and Colossians ? The nearest approach to such a possibility was in Philippi, when the Epistle to that city was written ; but even there distinctly less time had passed over the Church than in Ephesus when Paul wrote to Timothy ; and even assuming that the distinction was recognized in Philippi when Paul was writing, he did not exhaust his vocabulary in the one short letter to the Philippians. Moreover, the growth of such a distinction and of a word (or words, rather) to express it, could take place only when the Churches of Aegean lands were as a body beginning to attain some age and standing. The idea in the word is thoroughly Pauline. Paul uses φυτεύειν, to plant, to indicate conversion, and when he wanted a word to indicate new converts, it was natural that he should employ the term νεόφυτος, newly planted. One could not easily find in any writer a better example of the growth of his vocabulary, proceeding within his own mind through the widening of his experiences, and based on his older vocabulary, than in this growth of the later Pauline νεόφυτος out of the older Pauline φυτευειν.

The distinction between novices and Christians of longer standing and experience implied that two terms would grow up to express the two classes. How would Paul have described the older class ? Would he have used the periphrasis ἀρχαῖος μαθητής, by which Luke designated Mnason ? At any rate, the term used by Luke indicates that the distinction of the two classes was beginning to be felt in the Church generally during the lifetime of Luke, and we shall find it hard to draw any strong line between Luke and Paul.

The reference to the opinion entertained in pagan society about the Bishop is interesting. It was Paul's practice, as we see in the case of Timothy, to take account of the reputation which one whom he was thinking of placing in a position of authority or responsibility had gained among

the Brethren. But it may seem strange that here the testimony of the Brethren should not be alluded to,[1] whereas good reputation among the pagans is a condition which should be applied in scrutinizing the candidates for the office of Bishop. The opinion of the Brethren, however, cannot here be a condition, because it constitutes the method of election ; and it would be mere verbiage to say that a person who is to be appointed by vote of the Brethren must have their good opinion. As the Church was surrounded by critical pagan society, the election of one who was considered by the pagans not to be a worthy and good man would be a dangerous thing ; the tongue of scandal and reproach would be let loose against him and against the congregation amid which he had been placed in authority ; thus he would fall into the snare which the Devil is always laying for all Christians.

It is evident that this condition, which is stated last, by a sort of afterthought, merely repeats and enlarges the condition which is placed first of all, that the Bishop must be free from reproach. In the corresponding passage in the letter to Titus, the first condition is stated twice, as it is here ; but the second statement gives precision to it in a different fashion : a Bishop, as being the steward of God, must be subject to no imputation. The two passages are in this point parallel to one another : both place this condition in the forefront, as of the highest importance : both repeat it a second time, making it more definite. There may very well have been in the varying forms of the repetition some special suitability to the respective cases of Ephesus and Crete ; but we have not sufficient information to judge on this point.

The conditions which are to be applied in choosing Bishops,

[1] It is of course indirectly implied in ἀνεπίλημπτος, ἀνέγκλητος, but good reputation among the Brethren is not formally mentioned as a condition.

etc., as stated to Titus, do not otherwise vary essentially from those stated to Timothy; the terms selected to describe the moral qualities vary without any noteworthy divergence in moral character. It is remarkable that in each passage Paul uses some words which he never employs except in these two Epistles, and that also (where they differ) he uses some which he never employs except in the single Epistle. That again illustrates the origin of Paul's new language in the Pastorals: in none of Paul's other letters have we any list of this kind: new terms were necessary, and yet Paul does not confine himself to one set of new terms, but draws from his great store of language with inexhaustible profusion, so that in stating what is practically the same list twice over, he uses two different sets of novel words.

At the same time, both the contrast between novices and old converts and the growth of new words to express new ideas and conditions in the Church imply a distinct interval dividing the Pastoral from the other Epistles of Paul. They are not intelligible as contemporary with the others, but only in succession to them.

W. M. Ramsay.

THE CHRIST OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

I.

Amid all the questions connected with the historicity of the Fourth Gospel, it is of paramount importance to-day to obtain a view of the Figure of Jesus therein contained in its true perspective. The prevailing school of advanced theological thought emphasises the distinction between the portrait of the Fourth Evangelist and that of the Synoptics. The Christ of the Fourth Gospel is represented as an unearthly Figure, in which the humanity of Jesus of Nazareth is overlaid by lofty theological and metaphysical conceptions. "The moral

attributes, trust, pity, forgiveness, infinite sympathy, are replaced by certain metaphysical attributes which are supposed to belong more essentially to the divine nature." (*The Fourth Gospel*, by Prof. E. F. Scott, D.D., p. 173.) "Jesus as Logos was incapable of human weakness, and all traces of a moral struggle in His life, as in the stories of the Temptation and the Agony, are obliterated. He belonged to a higher world, and could not enter into those familiar relations with men of which we have evidence in the earlier Gospels" (ibid. pp. 172 f.) In other words, the governing motive in the mind of the Fourth Evangelist is theological and dogmatic. His Christ is essentially superhuman. "In the Fourth Gospel we have a version—or perversion—of the Master's life by a disciple who has portrayed Him not in His self-sacrificing love, which sought not its own, but as the mighty, superhuman Being, demanding recognition of the Divine Sonship and Messianic glory" (Weinel, *St. Paul*, E. Tr., p. 320).

If this be regarded as a satisfactory account of the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel, we are brought face to face with a difficulty which immediately suggests a defect in scientific procedure at the basis of such utterances. If, in this portrait of Jesus, the moral attributes of trust, pity, forgiveness, and infinite sympathy are absent, and all that would betray human weakness and moral struggle is eliminated, how does it come about that the Figure of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel has aroused such a sense of personal devotion and love in the hearts of Christian people? The finest and deepest religious instincts of Christian men are always governed by the simple conviction that Jesus is still working and speaking and triumphing to-day by His Holy Spirit. These instincts are always very sensitive to reject what is unreal in religious speculation, and to detect the real. By their attitude towards the Fourth Gospel they have testified to

their sense of its reality. The Johannine Christ is not the statuesque figure of modern theology. Here is no cold, abstract, impersonal Divinity, without warmer and tenderer traits. In these papers an attempt will be made to point out that much less than justice has been done to the Johannine portrait by the modern critical school. It faintly admits, but is largely blinded, to the *evident historical and psychological interest* which possesses the mind of the Evangelist.[1] What else does he mean by speaking of himself as a "witness"? "Bear ye also witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning" (xv. 27; cf. EXPOSITOR, February, 1908, "The Personality of the Fourth Evangelist"). What else is implied in the work of the Spirit of Truth which was promised, than historical facts on which to work? (xvi. 14); what else is implied in the "glorifying" of Jesus, so frequent an idea in this Gospel, than a vision of the Lord to the eye of faith, whose outlines are really the outlines of a vision to the eye of sense? The question to be decided is whether the Evangelist, in giving us this undoubtedly idealised conception of Jesus, is himself sufficiently and really in touch all the time with the actual words, deeds and thoughts of the historical Person. It may also be claimed that this investigation is entirely apart from the question of agreement or disagreement with the Synoptic portrait. That is an investigation of great moment, but we have no right to estimate the historical value of the Fourth Gospel solely by the standard of the Synoptics. The personality of Jesus in this Gospel must, in the end, stand or fall on its own merits, and everything points in the direction of claiming that the Fourth Evangelist affords a contribution to the understanding of Jesus peculiar to himself.[2]

[1] In these discussions it is still assumed that the Gospel is a unity, and owes nothing essential to redaction.

[2] In their edition of the Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus, Drs. Grenfell and Hunt give the following suggestion as an inference from their peculiar

This same distrust of the originality of the Johannine conception of Jesus speaks in the modern disposition to regard Paul as the master mind behind the Gospel. The Johannine Christ is regarded as an attempt to unite, in terms of the thought of the time, the Christ of Paul and the Synoptic presentation of His character. We are often told that the Fourth Gospel was intended to meet the perplexity caused by the apparent inconsistency between the two. The Gospel, it is said, " is full of Pauline ideas, not indeed in their harsher, original form, but idealised and softened " (*Lux Hominum*, " The Fourth Gospel," by Professor Allan Menzies, D.D., p. 206). Without passing any judgment on this position we may say, that, behind it, there lies the bold assumption that Paul, in his interpretation of the mind and claims of Jesus, not only advanced beyond the consciousness of the Lord Himself, but also initiated the Church into this new theological conception. We can almost hear him say, " Who, then, is Paul, and what is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye have believed ? " " None other foundation can any man lay than that is laid." Paul's critics have made him perform a feat which he himself loudly disclaimed the ability to perform. Paul may have influenced John, and John may have influenced Paul, but that the object of their faith was transformed in the mind of either in obedience to a purely theological conception, we cannot but strongly repudiate. If it were so, Paul has failed in his ideal expressed in the words, " To me to live is Christ," and John did *not* " behold His glory " when He tabernacled among men. Otherwise, theirs

mystical and speculative character: " The mystical and speculative element in the early records of Christ's sayings, which found its highest and most widely accepted expression in St. John's Gospel, may well have been much more general and less peculiarly Johannine than has hitherto been taken for granted " (*Egypt. Exploration Fund*, p. 36). Cf. D. Erwin Preuschen, on " Das neue Evangelienfragment von Oxyrhynchos " in *Zeitschrift für die N.T. Wissenschaft*, 1908, Heft i. p. 11.

would be a feat unique in the history of religions, to persuade the Church to adopt as its own their interpretation of a great Personality, and to elevate it into the Object of its adoration and praise. The Pauline and the Johannine doctrine must both be based essentially on the self-consciousness of Jesus Himself.

What, then, is the peculiar contribution of the Fourth Evangelist to our idea of the character of Jesus? There can be no doubt, as has often been pointed out, that the Gospel moves between two opposite poles of thought in the conception of Jesus. One is the historical, or the interpretation suggested by the history; the other is the pole of Christian experience, the field of the Holy Spirit which leads into all truth. The present writer adopts the view of Harnack that the significance of the Logos conception, as a philosophic theory, is exhausted in the Prologue, and does not any more enter as a philosophic idea into the structure of the Gospel. These two, the Historical Jesus and the Risen Christ as apprehended by faith, are the two *foci* of an ellipse. An area is thus marked out for us, within which it is for the most part impossible to distinguish the divisions between the Evangelist's own thought, and the literal and historical expression of the thought of Jesus. The work, therefore, suffers as a strictly historical account of word and deed, if it be such that we desire. Yet we may assume that no unwarrantable liberties are taken with either, and the attempt may be made to point out, in opposition to the current conception of the Johannine Christ, that in no other Gospel do we find such a graphic account of certain traits in the human personality of Jesus.

These two opposite poles of thought, the historical and the spiritual, are very clearly seen in the Evangelist's conception of Jesus. Two or three very suggestive sentences may be quoted from Dr. E. F. Scott: "Behind all his speculative

thinking there is the remembrance of the actual life which had arrested him as it had done the first disciples, and been to him the true revelation of God. His worship is directed in the last resort not to the Logos, whom he discerns in Jesus, but to Jesus Himself. Nevertheless the adoption of the Logos idea involves him in a mode of thought which is alien to his deeper religious instinct. On the one hand, he conceives of Jesus as manifesting God to men, and raising them to a higher life *by the might of His ethical personality ;*[1] on the other hand, he is compelled to think of the revelation under metaphysical categories " (*op cit.* p. 174). It may be gravely questioned whether it is suitable to speak of speculative thinking in the Fourth Gospel at all, especially as set in opposition to the Evangelist's deeper religious instinct. Would the Evangelist, particularly if himself an eye-witness, admit such psychological confusion into his faith ? His intellectual standpoint, in spite of all that has been written about it, is far more Hebrew than Greek, far more religious than philosophical. It seems to the present writer to belittle the religious instinct of the Fourth Evangelist, if we imagine for a moment that he would tolerate any speculative conception of Christ that would do violence to, or involve in contradiction, the elements of his faith. Faith is the region in which he himself lives, both intellectually and spiritually. It is the gift that he himself possesses and seeks to impart to his readers. " These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, and that believing ye might have life in His Name." He himself is able, through the unifying result of faith, to move freely and without sense of contradiction between two poles of thought, the historical Jesus, and the Risen Christ. This freedom in the " truth " is the content of the Holy Spirit's gift to him. From a purely speculative point of view, this conception of Jesus may be an antinomy,

[1] The italics are mine.

but religion involves several antinomies which present no practical difficulty to a "great believer." It is an injustice to the Johannine conception of Christ to emphasise, as is so often done to-day, the superhuman element in it, as though the total prevailing impression left on our minds were of a Christ entirely marvellous, far above men and very aloof from them. That is as great an injustice as to interpret literally, and without reference to Gnostic antinomianism, the statements of the First Epistle, "Whosoever abideth in Him sinneth not," or, "Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin."

To return to our former illustration, the conception of the Johannine Christ is an ellipse and not a circle. It has two *foci* and not one centre. We cannot understand the Christ of the Fourth Gospel without emphasising His humanity as well as His divinity. These are set, if we like to put it so, naïvely side by side :

> Thou seemest human and divine,
> The highest, holiest manhood, thou.

We must remember that the Evangelist is not writing to meet the needs of modern thought.

If it is any advantage to sum up in a word the peculiar character of the contribution of the Fourth Evangelist to our portrait of Jesus, we might say that he gives us a particularly full account of Jesus as a Religious Personality. From this point of view especially, the present writer would seek to approach the question, with a view to pointing out how religiously dependent, and therefore how human, the Johannine Christ is.

1. Let us, first of all, take the use that Jesus makes of Prayer in this Gospel.

After the miraculous feeding of the multitude they sought to take Him forcibly and make Him king, and Jesus "went away into the mountain-country alone" (vi. 15). It is

significant that a powerful motive in the mind of Jesus is recognised as inciting Him to this step. "Jesus knowing," etc. (cf. xiii. 1, although εἰδώς is used there). That motive can only be a sense of temptation, and the temptation is only to be overcome by prayer. "He went away *alone*." Again, something equivalent to the prayer in Gethsemane finds a chief place at a crisis in the life of Jesus, when the Greeks come to see Him (xii. 27). The world-wide nature of His mission is opening up to Him. "Now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour. But for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify Thy name." It is customary to interpret the prayer at the grave of Lazarus (xi. 41, 42) as conceived by the Evangelist definitely for the purpose of indicating that Jesus did not need to pray, and that this particular prayer was offered, dramatically, for the sake of the bystanders. Is it not rather his idea to emphasise the place of prayer in the Raising of Lazarus? Surely he means to imply that there was no occasion for Jesus to *utter aloud* this prayer except to make plain to others, that the power was given Him of God as He needed it. "I knew indeed that thou ever listenest to me; but I have *spoken* for the sake of the crowd which is standing round, that they may believe that thou hast sent me." (xi. 42; cf. Zahn, *Kommentar z. N.T.*, *Das Ev. Joh. in loc.*)

The prayer in chapter xvii. is, indeed, the prayer of One who has become the Great High Priest of His Church and of humanity, but nowhere is there more distinctly expressed or implied Jesus' sense of complete dependence on the Father, and the human submission of His will to the will of God.

R. H. Strachan.

(*To be continued.*)

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

III. The Betrayal.

It has been explained in the first of these papers that it is our purpose, first of all, to examine those sections of the Fourth Gospel which cover ground already traversed by the Synoptists, in order to decide whether the narrative is consistent with the Synoptic narrative, and whether the differences and additions are such as to justify the tradition of the Christian Church that the fourth Evangelist was a personal disciple of Jesus. In the preceding paper we have applied our method to the story of the ministry of the Baptist.

We now pass over the whole story of the public ministry of Jesus, because the points of view of our Evangelist and of the Synoptists are so widely different in regard to it. In the present paper we shall consider the account, given us in the Fourth Gospel, of the Betrayal of Jesus.

The fourth Evangelist agrees with the Synoptists in representing the death of Jesus to have been brought about through the treachery of Judas. He does not, however, record the actual covenant of betrayal made with the chief priests for thirty pieces of silver. But, like Mark and Matthew, he reports the anointing of Jesus at Bethany, upon which, according to these other Evangelists, the agreement made by Judas with the chief priests followed closely. This anointing evidently took place when Jesus was reclining at the table. This is explicitly stated by Mark and by the fourth Evangelist. We find in the Fourth Gospel more particularity of statement than in the other Gospels, and names are given. It is true that it does not mention by name Simon the leper, in whose house, according to

Mark and Matthew, the event took place, but it mentions Martha as serving, and Lazarus as one of the guests at the supper; and whereas Mark and Matthew speak, without naming her, of a woman who came and anointed Jesus, our Evangelist tells us that this woman was Mary, doubtless intending the sister of Martha. With these two sisters he has already made us familiar in the story of the raising of their brother Lazarus. The expression used by the Evangelist to describe the ointment is much the same as that employed by Mark (John—*μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτίμου*, Mark—*μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς*), the epithet *πιστικός*, here applied, being of uncertain meaning. There is a difference between our Evangelist and the other two, in that he speaks of the anointing of the *feet* of Jesus, they of that of His *head*. The former seems more probable when once the feast had begun. The Evangelist specially emphasises that it was the feet, for the order of his words is: "She anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped with her hair his feet." He adds the little touch, suggestive of his own presence on the occasion, that the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.

Mark and Matthew tell us that there arose a murmuring among some present that the ointment should be thus wasted, instead of being sold and given to the poor. The fourth Evangelist says that this complaint came from Judas Iscariot. Nor is he likely to be wrong in this, for the other two Evangelists place the going away of Judas, to sell Jesus to the chief priests, in close juxtaposition with this incident. Our Evangelist gives us information, peculiar to him, about Judas Iscariot, namely, that he had the money bag, which fact is repeated in xiii. 29. This is a fact—supposing it to be a fact—which would hardly be known outside the circle of the disciples.

We see, then, that this section of our Gospel which records

the anointing of Jesus in the house at Bethany abounds in particularity of detail. The author writes as one who either knew the details or pretended to know them.

We come now to the story of the actual betrayal in the garden of Gethsemane. The intervening events, namely, the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the visit of the Greeks, and the Last Supper, will come before us in later papers.

Our Gospel agrees with the Synoptists in making the arrest of Jesus take place outside Jerusalem. The name Gethsemane, which Matthew and Mark give to the spot is not found in the Fourth Gospel. But the Evangelist calls the place " a garden " (κῆπος), and tells us that Jesus passed to it with His disciples after crossing the brook Kidron. He adds that it was a place whither Jesus often resorted with His disciples, and this was how Judas knew it. This is a detail that would be known to the select circle, and the mention of it is intelligible if the writer belonged to that circle.

It is a striking fact that no mention is made in the Fourth Gospel of the Agony in the Garden. It is the more striking, as, according to the Synoptists, John was himself one of the three chosen by Jesus to watch while He went further on to pray. We cannot, however, argue that what a writer does not mention he does not know of. Possibly our Evangelist felt that he had nothing to add to what was already written in the other Gospels on the subject, and he may characteristically have chosen not to mention an incident to which his own name attached in the other Gospels.

We come now to the arrival of Judas Iscariot upon the scene. According to the Synoptists, he was accompanied by a multitude (ὄχλος) armed with swords and staves, and coming from the chief priests and elders. There is no explicit mention of the presence of soldiers. In the Fourth Gospel, however, it is distinctly stated that there were sol-

diers: Judas having received (1) the band (*τὴν σπεῖραν*) and (2) officers from the chief priests and the Pharisees. There can be no question that "the band" was one of soldiers, and they were led by an officer called in v. 12 a Chiliarch. A clear distinction is made between the band of soldiers, which would, of course, be supplied by the Roman governor, and the "officers" who were from the Jewish authorities. Our Evangelist tells us that they came with lanterns and torches and weapons (*ὅπλων*). It may be remarked in passing that the mention of lanterns and torches, of which nothing is said by the Synoptists, suggests that we have here the evidence of an eye-witness. These lights would give a character to the scene which would impress one who was there.

But exception has been taken to the presence of the band of soldiers in the Fourth Gospel. The objection is really a twofold one. First it is said that it is not likely that there were any soldiers at all; and secondly it is contended that, even if there were some, there could not be so many as the term *σπεῖρα*, here used, implies.

In answer to the first objection it may be said that not only is it *a priori* probable that there would be soldiers, but also their presence seems to be required by the Synoptic account. Westcott says very pertinently: "It is difficult to suppose that the priests would have ventured on such an arrest as that of Christ without communicating with the Roman governor, or that Pilate would have found any difficulty in granting them a detachment of men for the purpose, especially at the feast time. Moreover, Pilate's early appearance at the court, no less than the dream of his wife, implies some knowledge of the coming charge." Westcott further adds: "Perhaps it is not too fanciful to see a reference to the soldiers in the turn of the phrase 'twelve legions of angels' (Matt. xxvi. 53)."

According to the Synoptists, the multitude, which came to take Jesus, was equipped with swords and staves. It is very unlikely that the Jewish "officers" who formed the temple guard or police would be permitted by the Roman authorities to carry arms. And if this be so, there must have been Roman soldiers in this "multitude." It is likely enough that the Jewish "officers" had power to effect an arrest in the temple itself, but it may be questioned whether any such power would have been allowed them outside. If the armed power of Rome had been called in, we can well understand the protest made by Jesus (Mark xiv. 48, 49): "Are ye come out as against a robber, with swords and staves to seize me? I was daily with you in the temple teaching, and ye took me not."

I do not think, then, that exception can reasonably be taken to the presence of the soldiery, in the Fourth Gospel, among those who came to arrest Jesus. But then it is urged that the term ἡ σπεῖρα which the Evangelist uses proves the narrative to be quite unreliable. For σπεῖρα is the Greek equivalent of the Latin 'cohors,' which denotes the tenth part of a legion. It is true that σπεῖρα is used in Polybius (11, 23) to denote a maniple, which was only the thirtieth part of a legion, but the use of the term Chiliarch (v. 12), which was the Greek equivalent of 'tribunus,' the commander of a cohort, seems to require us to take σπεῖρα in this context as equivalent to 'cohors,' which would be a body of six hundred men.

Now it certainly does not seem at all probable that so large an armed force as this would have been employed for the arrest of an unarmed man; and if the narrative of our Evangelist made it necessary for us to understand it so, there would be a considerable shaking of our faith in his reliability.

It is possible to take up the position that the Evangelist

does not use the words σπεῖρα and χιλίαρχος in their technical sense. A serious objection, however, to this is the use of the definite article with σπεῖρα the first time the word occurs, for we read: "Judas having received *the* band," etc. If σπεῖρα be not used technically, the force of the article could not well be anything but 'the band necessary for his purpose'; that is to say, the band needed to effect the arrest. This interpretation seems unsatisfactory, and it is more natural to adopt the technical meaning of σπεῖρα. The force of the article would then be 'the cohort garrisoned in Jerusalem,' in the tower of Antonia. We find the same definiteness with apparently this meaning in Acts xxi. 31, where we read: "Tidings came to the chief captain of the band (τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τῆς σπείρης) that all Jerusalem was in confusion."

But it cannot for a moment be supposed that the whole garrison would turn out to effect the arrest of Jesus. There is, however, no difficulty in supposing that a detachment was sent. A detachment acting for the whole might be spoken of as if it were the whole, in much the same way as we, in English, speak of 'the police.' By this term we sometimes mean the whole body of the police, but such a statement as "the police have made an arrest" would be understood to mean that *some* of the police had done so. If we read in a book that a person having got the police went off to effect an arrest, we should not suppose that every policeman in the place went with him. And in the passage before us we need not understand that the whole body of Roman troops stationed in Jerusalem went with Judas.

If, then, we once admit that the Synoptic narrative does not exclude, even though it does not explicitly mention, the presence of Roman soldiers among those who came with Judas to take Jesus, there does not appear to be anything extravagant in the statement of the fourth Evangelist.

We shall now pass on to our Evangelist's story of the arrest. We mark that he does not say anything of the kiss of Judas, which the Synoptists tell us was the sign by which those who were to make the arrest might know which was the person to be taken. The account of the matter in our Gospel is as follows: "Jesus therefore knowing all things that were coming upon him went forth, and saith unto them, Whom seek ye? They answered him, Jesus of Nazareth (*Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον*). Jesus saith unto them, I am he. And Judas also, which betrayed him, was standing with them. When therefore he said unto them, I am he, they went backward, and fell to the ground. Again therefore he asked them, Whom seek ye? And they said, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus answered, I told you that I am he: if therefore ye seek me, let these go their way: that the word might be fulfilled which he spake, Of those whom thou hast given me I lost not one."

Then follows the incident of the cutting off of the ear of the high priest's servant. Our Evangelist here, according to his usual habit, gives names. He tells us that it was Peter who thus drew the sword, and that the servant's name was Malchus. These are details unknown to the Synoptists, or, at any rate, unrecorded by them. They are details which would be known to the writer, supposing him to have been present at the scene, and also to have been known to the high priest (xviii. 10).

But the historical probability of the scene as described by our Evangelist has been strongly controverted. Schmiedel[1] considers that a book in which, as he says, the meaning of the Eucharistic supper is given a year before it took place, in which five hundred if not a thousand Roman soldiers go backward and fall to the ground before Him, whom they were to arrest, at the words "I am he," and in which a

[1] *Das vierte Evangelium gegenüber den drei ersten*, p. 107.

hundred pounds of spices are applied for the embalming of the body of Jesus, should for these reasons alone be saved from any such misunderstanding as that it is a report of actual events.

We are only concerned here with the second of these objections. We may at once put aside " the five hundred, if not a thousand Roman soldiers," for we do not suppose that the Evangelist means that the whole cohort of soldiers was employed. But Schmiedel would probably still object to the account given by the Evangelist, even if the number of soldiers were reduced to one of not more than two figures.

Now I do not see how it can be reasonably denied that the behaviour of Jesus as represented here is just what the perfect unselfishness and general considerateness of His character would have led us to expect. We see Him ready to give Himself up to the authorities, who demanded His arrest, and to save His disciples from all molestation. There is certainly nothing in the statement made by the Evangelist, that Jesus knew all things that were coming upon Him, that is at all improbable, for the Synoptists report in clearest terms that He had foretold to His disciples His crucifixion and that He had a clear foreknowledge of the treachery of Judas. It is going beyond all reasonable criticism to say that the Evangelist is here making Jesus less human than do the Synoptists. And the scene is certainly graphically depicted, so much so that if the Evangelist be not recording that of which he had had actual experience, we must allow that he was indeed a consummate artist.

We see Jesus first of all coming forward and asking—possibly addressing Himself to the Chiliarch in command of the soldiers—Whom seek ye ? This was not a superfluous question. For though Jesus knew the meaning of the kiss of Judas, this was nevertheless no straightforward answer to His question, for Judas had merely greeted Him

as a friend, pretending still to belong to the circle of disciples. There had been no proper statement made which would render the question of Jesus inappropriate. The answer, then, is given: Jesus the Nazarene. And Jesus said: I am He. And then the Evangelist adds: "And Judas also which betrayed him was standing with them." This is a statement which appears at first sight superfluous. But if the writer be describing an actual scene of which he had been the witness, we can understand the impression that must have been made on his mind when the treachery of Judas was thus proved. The kiss which Judas had given his Master could tell the disciples nothing. It was calculated to make it appear that he was still one of themselves, but he is now seen standing with those who have come to take Jesus. He is proved to be a traitor.

And now comes the statement of the Evangelist: "When, therefore, he said unto them, I am he, they went backward and fell to the ground." Now this either took place or it did not. If it did, there must have been some reason for this conduct though we may not be able to discover it; if it did not take place and the Evangelist is only inventing particulars, then this particular invention must have had a reason. And what satisfactory reason, we may ask, can be assigned? The only reason suggested is that it is a design of the Evangelist to extol Jesus and to heighten in some way the dignity of His person and of His commanding presence. This indeed is a fault which is thought by opponents of the historical worth of the Gospel to pervade the whole book. Well, they may be right, but the present instance is a very unconvincing proof of this tendency.

The character of Judas is one of the strangest puzzles in the New Testament. He does not appear to have wished that Jesus should be condemned to death. It has been thought that his purpose was to force Jesus to declare Him-

self, and there may well have been some subtle design, as hard for us to read as the character of Judas himself, in this conduct on the part of those who had come to arrest Jesus. Judas, who, as we read, was standing with them, may have taken the lead in his strange behaviour which the others may have followed without quite knowing why. But the point to observe is that whatever its purpose, Jesus, according to the narrative, was impatient of it. He asked them again : " Whom seek ye ? " And when they repeated their answer, " Jesus the Nazarene," He replied with an obvious tone of just impatience : " I told you that I am he : if therefore ye seek me, let these go their way." If the Evangelist meant to represent this act of the soldiers and of the officers of the Jews as one of homage to Jesus, he strangely contradicts himself by making it very unacceptable to Him to whom it was offered. The rejection of it would imply that it was no true homage ; and if it is no true homage, it can in no way add to or heighten the dignity of the Christ. It seems far more likely that this conduct savoured of an excessive politeness, wholly inappropriate to the occasion and utterly distasteful to Him to whom it was offered ; for plainly He rejected it. I can see no evidence here of any such design on the part of the writer as is attributed to him.

We need not surely lose patience with our Evangelist because he records a fact which we find it hard, if not impossible, to explain.

Again, it cannot fairly be argued that the readiness of Jesus to surrender Himself, as this is exhibited in our Gospel, is out of accord with the mental struggle which the Synoptists depict in what is usually called the Agony in the Garden. For this struggle was over before Judas appeared upon the scene. Jesus knew now that the cup must be drunk ; and the words which the Fourth Gospel puts into His mouth in

His reproof of Peter for using the sword—"The cup which the Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?—are reminiscent of the struggle through which He had passed.

We may remark that our Evangelist, who is thought by those who regard him as unhistorical to carry miracle to excess, says nothing of Jesus healing the ear of Malchus. If he were wanting in this passage to lay emphasis on the divine power of Jesus, as is contended by those who object to his representation of the conduct of the men in going backward and falling to the ground, he loses his opportunity in omitting to mention a proof of it which lay ready to his hand in the pages of St. Luke. Apparently the underlying thought of this section of our Gospel is not the miracle-working power of Jesus, but His perfect self-surrender and readiness to bear all that was destined for Him by the will of heaven. He is ready to bear all Himself, and shows Himself eager to spare His disciples all share in the persecution which He Himself was to undergo. And if it be said that the freedom He gives to His disciples renders nugatory the statement of the Synoptists that they all forsook Him and fled, the answer will be that the freedom extended to them laid upon them the responsibility of the choice between withdrawal from Him and following Him with their sympathy. While He was anxious to spare them persecution, they were only too ready to desert Him through fear of consequences to themselves. Not that we are in a position to judge them. Their conduct was very human, while His was divine.

E. H. Askwith.

OPERA FORIS.

Materials for the Preacher.

XIII.

1 Corinthians xvi. 14: *Let all that ye do be done in love* (*πάντα ὑμῶν ἐν ἀγάπῃ γινέσθω*).

Why does Paul add this word at this point? He has been exhorting the Corinthians to a manly, resolute religion: *stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong.* Why speak of *love* in this connexion? Because love is the atmosphere of a robust faith. There is a spurious or inferior type of strength which has firm convictions but insists upon its own opinions or methods without paying sufficient regard to the feelings of other people. This masterful temper is often confounded with true strength of character, and Paul seeks to guard against this misconception. A firm grasp of principle is always apt to be uncharitable. Its temptation is to grow impatient of any defects in the belief or conduct of others, and a trifle hard in its moral judgments. Resolute natures often say and do the right thing, but it is in the wrong spirit. Instead of edifying their fellows, they produce a feeling of irritation. They are difficult to work with. They want echoes, not colleagues, in the church. Their very tenacity of purpose develops an inconsiderateness which tends now and then to make trouble, instead of peace, in the community.

Paul suggests that forbearance and consideration, so far from being a mark of weakness, are an inseparable element of strength. A man who is strong in the faith, full of clear ideas and energy, ought to be strong *in love*, conciliatory, unselfish, forbearing. It is easy for him to be domineering and censorious, and he often imagines that he is thereby displaying firmness of character and the courage of his con-

victions. But impatience and self-assertion of this kind are really a flaw, inasmuch as they violate the cardinal law of love. It is childish and not manly, Paul implies, to take offence at any difference of opinion or method among your fellow-Christians, and to be overbearing even in the pursuit of ends which are intrinsically Christian. As Crashaw puts it :—

> 'Tis love, not years or limbs, that can
> Make the martyr or the man.

* * * * *

2 Timothy iv. 16–17. A study in unselfishness. It is especially difficult to avoid egotism, when one has to speak of one's own experiences, but Paul's unselfish spirit comes out with remarkable clearness in this passage at three points. (i.) In his references to the Roman Christians who seem to have failed him at the critical moment. *At my first defence no one took my part, but all forsook me : may it not be laid to their charge.* He does not blame them for their gross cowardice. It is not their desertion of him which weighs on his mind, so much as their failure to seize an opportunity for serving Christ. *May it not be laid to their charge!* The tone is magnanimous pity. Paul forgives and prays that God may forgive them. He entertains no personal resentment. (ii.) In his references to his own courage. That was due to divine aid ; he claims no credit for it, and does not draw attention to his own virtues. *The Lord stood by me and strengthened me.* Paul got power to stand firm and give a ready answer to the judge's queries. He does not plume himself upon his ready wit and bravery, but acknowledges the hand of his Lord in the matter. If he was not intimidated, the glory was God's. (iii.) The object of his personal deliverance was wider than his own comfort. The aim of God's intervention, in sparing his life for the meantime, was *that through me the message might be fully*

proclaimed, and that all the Gentiles might hear. Even the postponement of the trial served, in his judgment, to promote the greater ends of the gospel. He regarded himself consistently as the agent of the cause, not as the main object on which all other considerations should hinge. This absence of pretension forms the third and highest note of unselfishness in the passage. He would not pose as a victim or as a hero in the cause of Christianity.

* * * * *

Jeremiah xvii. 12–13 : *A glorious throne, set on high from the beginning, is the place of our sanctuary. O Lord, the hope of Israel, all that forsake thee shall be ashamed ; they that depart from me shall be written in the earth* (or, *cut off from the earth*, so Giesebrecht ; cp. Ps. xxxiv. 17), *because they have forsaken the Lord, the fountain of living waters.*

The supreme hope of religion is a God who is not only permanent but fresh, whose life is not merely stable but vital and accessible to men. The eternity of God, says the prophet, is a consolation to men, because it assures them of a lasting refuge against the changes and overthrow of the world. But life requires more than permanent protection. It depends on sustenance no less than on a sanctuary. The God who is to satisfy its needs must be a source of unfailing freshness, and Jeremiah accordingly supplements his idea of God as the eternal refuge with the conception of an unfailing spring of vitality. The double note of the passage is therefore the Protection and the Provision made for human life by God.

* * * * *

Hosea x. 4 : *They speak* (mere or vain) *words, swearing falsely in making covenants : therefore judgment* (i.e. punishment) *springeth up as hemlock in the furrows of the field.*

The idea of the prophet in the second clause may be termed "The Homeliness of Punishment." Wrong-doing is not

requited in some distant scene or in a far-off, eccentric fashion. It is neither future nor foreign, but a present experience of life. Like the hemlock (or *rōsh*), a rank weed probably of the poppy order, which spoils the fields from which the farmer hoped to reap a harvest of good grain, punishment appears above the surface of our common life, meeting us in the very sphere where we had sinned—*in the furrows of the field.* It is homely alike in its season and in its sphere. Life here and now has its element of retribution. To punish a society or an individual for falsehood or formality or any self-indulgence, God does not require to transport the offender to some weird, remote scene. Punishment is not a Dantesque experience ; it is made up of the simplest elements in our being. It is wrought into and out of the very faculties of the mind and body which we have abused. Thus, e.g., the parent reaps disappointment and shame from the children whom he has mismanaged in early life. Instead of growing up to be a comfort to him, they reward him for undue laxity or severity by ingratitude and wilfulness. *In the furrows of the field*—in the very relationship which should be full of joy and help, and at the very time when he might expect to reap happiness from his sons and daughters, he has the vexation of seeing an ugly crop springing up to flaunt him with idle, bitter habits. So with a man's sins against his body or mind, or against work and friendship. The punishment for these comes home to him in person in the after-years. It is developed from the germs of the undisciplined living and shallow thinking in the past.

It is more difficult to recognize the homeliness of punishment than to admit its certainty. That is one reason why Hosea insists upon the inward and present law of retribution in human life. As the self-sacrificing disciple, in the words of Jesus, reaps a hundred-fold *now in this time*, being enriched in character by his self-denial and self-sacrifice, so,

on the reverse side, any excess or indulgence is visited a hundred-fold now and here upon the transgressor.

* * * * *

Luke viii. 2–3.

This passage, one of Luke's special contributions to the gospel-narrative, describes the double circle of Christ's followers.

(*a*) *And with him the twelve*, i.e. those specially called to high enterprise and service. This represents the circle of people in the Church who are conscious of a definite vocation and moved by the Spirit of Christ to serve the Church with consecrated lives.

(*b*) But alongside of these are *certain women which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities*, e.g. Mary Magdalene, etc. The dominating motion of their discipleship is gratitude for personal benefits. Their's is not the vocation of the twelve, but they have their own place and work. The memory of their deliverance moves them to support by their gifts the disciples who form Christ's inner circle (cp. Galatians vi. 6). This represents the subordinate rôle of many in the Church, who rank among the followers of Christ, and who, though they cannot take part personally in the great Christian mission, can make the task of the active servants easier by their liberality and sympathy.

* * * * *

John vi. 37 :—*All that which the Father giveth me shall come to me.*

,, ,, 44 :—*No man can come to me, except the Father which sent me draw him.*

,, ,, 45 :—*Everyone that hath heard from the Father, and hath learned, cometh unto me.*

This series of words contains Christ's definition or description of the true disciple. (i.) Faith is not accidental or

due to the initiative of men. The genuine disciples—those who *come to Jesus*—are the Father's gift to the Son. Their coming or adherence to Jesus may seem to be their own choice. But, in reality, behind their choice of Jesus lies God's choice of them. What they are at first most conscious of is their own initiative in the matter ; their resolve, their trust, their loyalty. Yet, as the Fourth Gospel repeatedly suggests, further reflection will show that this position is reached by them under the influence of a Divine suasion. The relation between them and Jesus has a history deeper than their own experience. It goes back to a Divine choice prior to their own.

This is developed in (ii.) the thought of the Father *drawing* true disciples to Jesus. This attraction is exerted on the mind and will by the revelation of the Father in the historic person and spiritual witness of Jesus Christ.[1] It is assumed, of course, that those only can be drawn who are sensitive to the revelation and who yield to the power of the truth manifested in Jesus. The phrase marks an advance upon the previous one, and the two are not exactly identical. The " drawing " is a further stage of the " giving." The conception of the disciples as " a gift " does not bring out their will and choice. The reference may even be to a predestined election. But this is supplemented by the further metaphor of " drawing," i.e. of a Divine action upon the human personality.

The line of thought is finally (iii.) drawn out, in order to set aside any idea of caprice or arbitrary compulsion, by the description of the true disciples as those who are taught of God, who accept His teaching and show themselves sensitive to His discipline of mind and heart. Here the element of

[1] Especially by the revelation of Jesus the crucified, as is suggested by xii. 32. Dr. Abbott happily compares the saying of Epictetus (i. 2. 4) that man is drawn (ἑλκόμενον) to nothing so much as to τὸ εὔλογον.

personal sympathy and co-operation comes to the front.[1] What is uppermost is the hearty response of the hearer to the divine revelation. He is not only a gift of the Father to the Son, and drawn by the Father, but a conscious agent who exerts his own powers of attention, subduing pride and prejudice in order to accept the gospel of the Father and the Son, and to occupy the position which all along has been his destiny. The recognition of Jesus as God's Son obviously implies far more than the mere recognition of historical facts or the acceptance of doctrine. It is a spiritual relation, involving the exercise of those inward qualities which can alone receive the illumination of the Spirit.

The first two expressions of the series thus stand over against the third, but all three form a moral unity. They represent the co-operation of the disciple in the saving purpose of God, and his responsibility for making the most of his opportunity. The divine side is prominent in two facets. But the three expressions are intended to bring out various sides of a truth which eludes any logical or rigid presentation. "Ne sont-elles pas, au fond," as Loisy puts it in his Commentary, "une même réalité vivante, que l'esprit humain regarde de deux côtés, et qu'il dédouble en idée, parce qu'il est incapable de la voir directement et de la définir simplement ?" The mission of Jesus, as the Son and Sent of God is in a divinely established harmony with the vague longings and moral aims of human life. Those who are true to the latter will find them satisfied in Christ, and then they will become conscious that their efforts and aspirations and prayers are only the other side of a Divine movement which,

[1] The "drawing" of ver. 44 is a wider conception than that of ver. 45. The influence exerted by a father on his son, e.g., is always wider and deeper than the latter is ever conscious of. He may listen to his father's counsels and allow himself to be controlled by his advice. But this, though it is the most spontaneous and definite form of adherence, is by no means equivalent to the entire effect produced by his father.

long ere they became conscious of their needs, had embraced them in its eternal design. By grace, they confess, they are what they are.

* * * * *

John xiv. 13: *And whatsoever ye shall ask* (αἰτήσητε) *in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son.*

On the five occasions on which Christ is represented as using the active (αἰτεῖν), instead of the middle (αἰτοῦμαι), the qualifying phrase ἐν τῷ ὀνοματί μου is added, in order (Dr. Abbott holds, *Johannine Grammar*, p. 391) to exclude "selfish or arbitrary asking." The disciples are not to ask recklessly for favours, or to imagine that their private fancies will be gratified. But while this restricting force of the phrase is obvious, the restriction is the outcome of a higher and positive content. Prayers in the name of Jesus exclude many things, just because they move on a high level of their own. What is that level? What are the specific qualities of this prayer ἐν ὀνοματὶ Χριστοῦ? In his recently translated volume of lectures upon *The Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion* (pp. 296 f.), Dr. Seeberg defines prayer in the name of Jesus as follows. It comprises (i.) a definite object. Such prayer is "for what communion with Jesus brings me," i.e. for faith and love. Prayer for such gifts of the inward life is sure of its answer, since it lies in the line of God's will. (ii.) Prayer offered in the name of Jesus means mutual prayer and intercession. "Christ worked for his Church; so he who lives in communion with Him prays for the Church of Jesus Christ and for all the individuals that belong or should belong to it." Thus, while (i.) excludes from this prayer selfish, outward petitions, (ii.) rules out a subtler form of selfishness.[1] Even when prayer

[1] This is brought out e.g. by H. T. Holtzmann in his note upon the passage: "Ein Gebet im Namen Jesu ist nämlich ein Gebet im christl. Gemein-

does rise to the region of spiritual desire, it may nevertheless be shadowed by egoism. Whereas genuine prayer in the name of Jesus can only be offered by one who is conscious of his obligations as a member of the community of Jesus, and who realizes that he can only be blessed in and through the fellowship of the faithful. (iii.) A third side, according to Seeberg, is the certainty that such prayers are heard, since the increase of faith and love is willed by Christ. Only, the answer is not always what we expect. As the experience of Paul with his thorn in the flesh teaches us, "prayer is always heard and always answered, even though our wishes and the pictures of our fancy remain unfulfilled. That points us to the barrier of faith and humility which the Christian ever erects around his prayer." It is certain that every petition for the increase of faith and love is answered, but it is as certain that these may grow in and through the pressure of some trouble, from which, in our short-sighted moods, we would fain be free. Prayer in the name of Jesus means that the Christian is content to leave the outward circumstances to God's will and wisdom, and to bear even the continuance of what is irksome, provided only that the spiritual boon is granted. This attitude implies an identification of ourselves with the aims and spirit of Jesus. It means that His interests are regarded by us as supreme, and that we desire nothing better than to be in line and touch with him.[1]

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geiste." Heitmüller's objections (*Im Namen Jesu*, pp. 77 f.) do not serve to invalidate this interpretation.

[1] Compare Mr. T. J. Hardy's definition of "the essential character of prayer as an expression of loyalty to the Father's will; a taking up, as it were, of our own spirit into His; a letting go of ourselves towards God in respect of everything that concerns us" (*The Gospel of Pain*, pp. 128–129)

DID CHRIST CONTEMPLATE THE ADMISSION OF THE GENTILES INTO THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN?

Professor Harnack has touched on this question in three of his more recent publications, viz., those on *Luke the Physician*, on *The Acts of the Apostles*, and on *The Expansion of Christianity*. In the two former he has, in opposition to the attacks of the Tübingen school of critics, successfully vindicated for St. Luke the authorship of the two canonical books ascribed to him, and has further proved that, with some few omissions, they may be accepted as trustworthy historical documents. In the Preface to his book on the Acts (p. xxvi.) he has defined his own position on the subject and has also characterized the method of his opponents in the following words: "In the first part of the Acts we find an open acknowledgment of the fact that not only was there no mission to the Gentiles in existence, but that at first no one had even thought of such a mission, and that it was only through a slow process of development that this mission was prepared for and established." "The longer I study the work of St. Luke, the more I am astonished that this fact has not forced his critics to treat him with more respect. Not a few of them treat their own conceits in regard to the book with more respect than the great lines of the work, which they either take as a matter of course, or criticize from the standpoint of their own superior knowledge." Compare also p. 42, "In an age wherein critical hypotheses, once upon a time not unfruitful, have hardened into dogmas, and when, if an attempt is made to defend a book against preju-

dice, misunderstanding, and misrepresentation, scornful remarks are made about 'special pleading,' it is not superfluous to declare that the method which is here employed by me is influenced by no prepossession of any kind." [1]

I am glad to see that the English Translator, who, as he tells us in his preface, had long been of opinion that, "from the standpoint of scientific historical criticism, it was inconceivable that the author of the Lukan writings could have been a companion of St. Paul," has now been converted by Harnack's argument, founded in part, as he himself confesses, on the researches of English scholars, especially Dr. Hobart, Sir W. M. Ramsay, and Sir John Hawkins. For my own part, while I rejoice to acknowledge the many obligations of English scholars to Professor Harnack, while I find his writings in the highest degree stimulating and suggestive, I cannot go quite so far as his translator in looking upon him as a pure embodiment of the scientific spirit. As I have said in my Introduction to the Seventh Book of the *Stromateis* of Clement and also in my Introduction to the Epistle of St. James, Harnack seems to me to be not entirely free from the faults which he condemns in the Tübingen school, and I think traces of these are to be found in his manner of dealing with the question which I have put at the head of this paper, and which he appears to answer in the negative in his book on the Acts (Eng. trans. Pref. p. xxvii.). He there says: "St Luke was the first to raise the question, 'How is it that within the Christian movement, originally Jewish, there arose a mission to the Gentiles?' Who else in the early Church except St. Luke even proposed this problem? And, when it was proposed, who (except St. Luke) has treated

[1] If we may judge from the references given in the notes, the writers whom Harnack has chiefly in his mind would seem to be Jülicher, Wellhausen, Pfleiderer and J. Weiss.

it otherwise than dogmatically, with *the worthless and absolutely fallacious explanation that the mission to the Gentiles was already foretold in the Old Testament, and had moreover been expressly enjoined by our Lord?* [1] What other idea than this do we learn from St. Matthew and St. Mark" ?

I cannot see how this statement admits of any other interpretation than the following : Jesus never enjoined His disciples to preach the gospel to the Gentiles : the mission to the Gentiles is not foretold in the Old Testament: the contrary belief may have been maintained by the first two Evangelists, but it was never sanctioned by St. Luke. How are we to reconcile this with Harnack's own language in page xxi., " To demonstrate the power of the Spirit of Jesus in the Apostles—this was the general theme of St. Luke." " This fact, therefore, viz., the Expansion of the Gospel, could not but come to the front as the leading idea which was to give form to the whole. At the very beginning of the work it is most distinctly proclaimed, ' Ye will receive the power of the Holy Spirit, and will be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judaea, and Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.' "

For the present I postpone what I have to say as to the universalistic teaching of our Lord, to which St. Luke, along with the other Synoptists, bears witness in his Gospel. I confine myself here to the prophetic references to be found in the Acts. In Acts ii. 17 we read the prophecy of Joel, " I will pour out my Spirit *upon all flesh*, and it shall be that *whoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved*," a passage which is also quoted by St. Paul in Romans x. 13, to justify his mission to the Greeks. In the same chapter (ver. 39) the words, " To you is the promise, and to your children, and *to all that are afar off*, as many as the Lord our God shall call," remind us of Isaiah lvii. 19 and Joel ii. 32. In Acts iii.

[1] The italics are my own.

26, after quoting the promise to Abraham that "in him all the families of the earth should be blessed," St. Peter continues, "Unto you *first* God sent his servant to bless you"; where the use of the word "first" must surely imply that *subsequently* the promise will be fulfilled for all the other families of the earth. Compare St. Paul's words addressed to the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 46), "It was necessary that the word of God should *first* be spoken to you, but seeing . . . ye judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles." In Acts x. 43 St. Peter is confirmed in his belief, that "in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is acceptable to him," by "the witness of all the prophets, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins." So (in Acts xv. 22) St. James decides the question of the admission of the Gentiles into the Church by referring to Amos ii. 11, "I will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen . . . *that the residue of men may seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called*, saith the Lord." So St. Paul in the Pisidian Antioch justifies his turning from the Jews to the Gentiles by the command of the Lord given in Isaiah xlix. 6, "I have set thee for *a light of the Gentiles*, that thou shouldest be for salvation *to the uttermost parts of the earth*," a quotation which becomes even more appropriate when we recall the preceding words of the prophet, "It is too light a thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will give thee for a light to the Gentiles."

It is not true, then, that St. Luke denies, or even that he ignores, the prophetic announcement of the evangelization of the world. On the contrary, he testifies that that announcement was appealed to alike by St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. James, as justifying the reception of the Gentiles into the Christian Church. But what strikes me as even more sur-

prising than this, is that any one who had read with any sort of care the Prophets, or the Psalms, or even the first two books of the Pentateuch, could persuade himself that "the Spirit of Christ which was in them did *not* testify to the sufferings of Christ and the glories which should follow." Among the most prominent of these glories was that foretold to Abraham, that "in him all families of the earth should be blessed." We find this prophecy further developed in such words as those of the Psalmist: "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof"; "All the ends of the earth shall worship before him, for the kingdom is the Lord's, and he shall be governor among the nations"; "O thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come; thou that art the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that are far off upon the seas"; "The princes of the nations have gathered together to be a people of the God of Abraham"; "The Lord hath made known his salvation, his righteousness hath he openly showed in the sight of the heathen"; "The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works"; "Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord." It would be easy to fill this paper with similar quotations from the Prophets, but I will content myself with one or two examples. Isaiah speaks (ii. 2–4) of "all nations going up to the house of the Lord, that they may be taught his ways and walk in his paths." He also particularizes certain nations as predestined partners in the blessing of Israel (xix. 24): "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth," which we may compare with Psalm lxxxvii., where Rahab and Babylon, Philistia, Tyre, and Ethiopia are claimed as adopted citizens of Zion, nations to whom has been revealed the knowledge of God.

But, instead of dwelling on particular texts, let us try to picture to ourselves the total impression which the study of

the Old Testament would be likely to leave on the Jewish mind, say in the first century B.C., as regards the question of the future of the Gentile world. Three views might be taken: (1) They are enemies of God and of His people, doomed to be exterminated like the Canaanites and Amalekites; (2) They stand in no relation to God, and are merely to be exploited for the benefit of Israel; (3) They are God's children, made in His likeness, and the duty and glory of Israel is to impart to them the revelation of God, made to themselves. There can be no doubt that the third view is that which progressively manifests itself in the reading of the Bible. If we go back to the beginning, we find it thrice stated in the early chapters of Genesis that man, as man, was made in the image of God; and in the third passage (ix. 6) this fact is given as a proof of the preciousness of man's life in the sight of God. It is assumed in the earliest history that other nations are under the Divine government, knowing the difference between right and wrong and punished and rewarded accordingly. Abraham is a friend of Ephron the Hittite, and receives blessing from Melchizedek. In his prayer for Sodom he declares his belief that the Judge of all the earth will do right. Balaam is the mouthpiece of God's blessings to Israel, and is quoted by the prophet Micah as declaring in brief the whole duty of man. A mixed multitude come up from Egypt and are admitted, virtually as proselytes, to a share in the blessing of Israel. So Rahab, Ruth, Araunah the Jebusite, the widow of Zarephath, Naaman the Syrian, are all brought into more or less close communion with the chosen people. Jeremiah speaks of Nebuchadnezzar as the Lord's servant, and, in Isaiah, we read, "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus"; and again, "Cyrus is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure." The prophets have a burden and a blessing for Moab and the neighbouring nations, just as they have for Israel. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of the Divine

care for Gentiles is the sending of Jonah to Nineveh to warn them of impending destruction, and the severe rebuke received by the prophet when he murmured at the remission of the punishment on the repentance of the offenders: "Should not I have pity on Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six-score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left, and also much cattle?"

A great step forward was taken when it was announced that a descendant of David should be the Messiah, the Anointed King who should rule all nations in righteousness and peace. Isaiah finds it impossible to speak too highly of His greatness, His wisdom, and His goodness. The largest hopes, the highest ideals, not merely of Israel, but of all mankind, were centred in Him. Daniel describes his kingdom as being established for ever on the ruin of the four great worldly monarchies.[1]

Turn now to the realization of these promises, when the fulness of time was come. We know that there was great agitation among the Jews during the half century which preceded the birth of Christ. The Gentile yoke pressed hard upon them, and many insurrections were excited by the hope of the speedy coming of the promised Deliverer. St. Luke tells us of quieter and gentler spirits which were awaiting the consolation and redemption of Israel. Harnack, however, forbids the use of the early chapters of Matthew and Luke, so we will make our beginning with the preaching of John the Baptist. There can be no doubt that John announced himself as the forerunner of the Messiah, and that his way of preparing for the Messiah's coming and the establishment of the kingdom of heaven was by the preaching of repentance. He warned his hearers that descent from Abraham was of no avail. "God could raise up children to

[1] Compare, on the extension of the idea of the Messiah, Harnack: *What is Christianity?* pp. 132 foll.

Abraham out of these stones." St. Luke adds that he quoted the words of Isaiah (lii. 10), "All flesh shall see the salvation of God." He recognized Jesus as the Messiah, one mightier than himself, who should baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire. In the sermon on the Mount we have the programme or the epitome of the Messiah's teaching, of which we are told that it startled the people by its tone of authority. While professing, not to destroy, but to fulfil the law and the prophets, He made it evident that *His* fulfilment would be the destruction, not merely of much that was held sacred by the religious teachers of the time, but of the actual laws of Moses: "Ye have heard that it was said, 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'; but I say unto you, 'Resist not him that is evil'"; "Ye have heard that it was said, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy'; but I say unto you, 'Love your enemies.'" In another passage (Matt. xix. 4) the command of Moses with regard to divorce is set aside, on the ground that it was a mere concession to the hardness of men's hearts, and contradicted the primal law of marriage. In everything Christ winds up to a higher pitch the moral and spiritual teaching of the Old Testament, finding, for instance, the doctrine of immortality underlying the phrase, "I am the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob"; while at the same time He treats with scant respect the details of ceremonial, the superstitious observance of the Sabbath, the distinction of clean and unclean meats, and the necessity of frequent ablutions. Compare the words, "Whatever from without goeth into the man, it cannot defile him"; on which St. Mark observes, "This he said, making all meats clean." Scarcely less important than the Sermon on the Mount, as striking the keynote of our Lord's mission, was His appearance in the synagogue at Nazareth, when He spoke of the prophecy in Isaiah lxi. 1 as being that day fulfilled in their ears. We may compare this with His answer to the disciples

of the Baptist, when they came to ask whether He were in truth the Messiah, or whether they were to look for another, upon which He again quotes from the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah as evidence of His mission. Especially remarkable are the words addressed to the people of Nazareth, in which He reminded them how there were many widows and many lepers in Israel in the days of Elijah and Elisha, but to none of them was the prophet sent but to the widow of Zarephath in the land of Sidon, and to Naaman the Syrian. It is possible that the furious animosity aroused among His own fellow-citizens by this reference to the evangelization of the Gentiles may have led Him to the conclusion that the time was not yet ripe for the avowed carrying out of what He must always have felt to be an essential, if not the most essential, part of His work on earth. But if He could not immediately attack this stronghold of Jewish prejudice and intolerance, He could at least prepare the way for its overthrow by manifesting His sympathy for those among the chosen people who were looked upon with hardly less scorn than the Gentiles themselves by the Pharisees. He showed Himself the friend of publicans and sinners, and declared that He came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance, that the publicans and harlots were nearer to the kingdom of God than the self-righteous Pharisees. In like manner a Samaritan is praised by Him because he alone, of the ten lepers who were cleansed, turned back to give glory to God ; and when He would give an example of neighbourly conduct, He chooses a Samaritan in preference to the priest and the Levite. Nay, He goes further, and when the Roman centurion declared himself unworthy to ask that the Lord should come under his roof to heal his servant, feeling sure that heavenly ministers waited upon His word, Jesus commended him beyond all others : "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." A similar comparison is made between the heathen under the old dis-

pensation and those to whom the Gospel had been vainly offered under the new : " It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment than for you " ; " The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation and shall condemn it, for they repented at the preaching of Jonah, and, behold, a greater than Jonah is here." So, in more general terms, it is said, " Many shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven ; but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness." Many of the parables teach the lesson which is appended to the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen in Matthew xxi. 43 : " The kingdom of heaven shall be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." Two things above all else are characteristic of the Saviour : the absolute freedom of His call, and the denunciation of those who would limit that freedom.

We will consider now what Harnack has to allege against the testimony of the Synoptists here cited in proof that the mission to the heathen was always in the mind of our Lord. Even if we had no such evidence, it would have been impossible to believe that One who represented and embodied the highest ideal of the Old Testament—and this is what we understand by the Messiah—could have been content to limit His love and His care for mankind as a whole to a small fraction of humanity. One who could have done so would have been no Messiah. Prophets and Psalmists and Patriarchs alike would have repudiated him as a pretender. On what ground, then, does Harnack venture to defend so glaring a paradox ? In the first place he takes no account of the testimony of the fourth Evangelist ; and he excludes the testimony of St. Luke, though in the quotation given from his own treatise on the Acts at the beginning of this Essay, he imputes to the writer of the Acts the acknowledgment, not only that no such mission was in existence at the opening

of his history, but that no one had even dreamt of such a mission at that time. But if that was indeed the attitude of St. Luke, what reason had Harnack to deny him a place in our discussion ? It would seem, however, that even the first two Evangelists are not to be altogether trusted ; at least, this is what we gather from the language used in the *Expansion of Christianity*, p. 38 : " If we leave out of account the words which the first Evangelist puts into the mouth of the Risen Jesus (Matt. xxviii. 19), with the similar expressions in the unauthentic appendix to Mark ; and if we further set aside the story of the Magi, as well as one or two of the Old Testament quotations, which the first Evangelist has woven into his tale (in iv. 13 f. and xii. 18), we must admit that Mark and Matthew have almost consistently withstood the temptation to introduce the Gentile mission into the words and deeds of Jesus." " Only twice does Mark make Jesus allude to the gospel being preached in all lands (xiii. 10, xiv. 9)." " Matthew expressly limits the mission of the Twelve to Palestine (x. 5, 6), precluding the hypothesis that the words applied merely to a provisional mission. If the saying in x. 23 is genuine (' Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come '), the Gentile mission cannot have lain within the horizon of Jesus." " The story of the Syro-Phœnician woman is almost of greater significance. The exception proves the rule." " It is impossible and quite useless to argue with those who see an inadmissible bias in the refusal to accept traditions about Jesus instructing His disciples after His death " (p. 41).

It must be allowed that Harnack here brings forward two facts which seem to support his hypothesis, that the evangelization of the Gentiles was not contemplated by our Lord while He was upon earth. These are His charge to the Twelve before their mission, and His way of dealing with the Syro-Phœnician woman. The words bearing upon this

point, in the charge, as given by St. Matthew, are, "Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans, but go *rather* to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and preach, saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand." It will help us to understand this charge if we observe the context in which it is placed by St. Mark and by St. Matthew. The former connects it with the visit to the synagogue at Nazareth; and tells us (vi. 6) that Jesus marvelled at the unbelief of the Nazarenes. I have suggested above that their unwillingness to admit the thought of the Gentiles sharing in the privileges of the Jews may have led Jesus to the conclusion that it was not yet the Father's will that this should be publicly announced. In St. Matthew the charge follows immediately upon our Lord's bidding the disciples to "pray to the Lord of the harvest to send forth more labourers into his harvest, seeing that the harvest was plentiful, and the labourers few." It was impossible to send out labourers at once into all the world. It was necessary to begin somewhere; and it was well to begin with those who had some knowledge of the subject, and could be soonest fitted to become preachers to others. That no absolute prohibition of the evangelization of the Gentiles was intended, is shown by the use of the comparative "rather," "Go rather to the lost sheep of Israel." And the pressing nature of the work is signified by the words which follow (v. 23): "Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Judah till the Son of Man be come,"—come, that is, to punish those who refused to listen to the call; for such shall be punished even more severely than Sodom and Gomorrah (Mark vi. 11).

I pass on now to the story of the Syro-Phœnician woman, which is perhaps best regarded as an object-lesson given to the disciples. The first question suggested by the story is, Why should she have been treated so differently from the centurion, who was also a Gentile? The answer is that she was not only Gentile, but heathen, Ἑλληνίς, as she is

called by St. Mark ; while the centurion was in all probability a proselyte, strongly recommended by the Jews, whose gratitude he had earned by building them a synagogue. When Jesus made no answer to her entreaty that He would heal her daughter, the disciples, who, no doubt, considered themselves still bound by the charge given to them, impatiently urged Him to send her away, that they might be no longer wearied with her cries [1] ; and Jesus Himself seemed to grant their request by enunciating the principle He had already laid down (Matt. x. 6), " I was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." When she knelt before Him, praying, " Lord, help me," He still persisted in the grave irony of His refusal : " It is not meet to take the children's bread and to cast it to dogs," thus drawing forth the answer of faith, " Yea, Lord ; for even the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their Master's table," which was to convince even the disciples, and which enabled their Master to pronounce that the devil had already gone out from her daughter.

Setting aside the two facts we have just been considering, Harnack's objections seem to me to rest upon dogmatic assumptions not unlike those which he condemns in the Tübingen critics. He declares that he is not influenced by prepossessions of any kind ; yet what is it but prepossession which restrains him from even considering the statement made in Acts i. 3 that Jesus showed Himself to His disciples after His passion, speaking to them the things concerning the Kingdom of God ? The preceding part of Gospel history makes it clear enough how much they had to learn before they were capable of entering into their Master's ideas, and what need they had of moral strengthening before they could face the opposition of the Jews. We should all agree with

[1] Compare for similar behaviour Matt. xix. 13, where they find fault with those that brought little children to Jesus ; and their request that He would send away the multitude before the miracle of the loaves and fishes (Mark vi. 36), also the attempt made to silence Bartimaeus (Mark x. 46).

Harnack that this strengthening and this learning came from the spirit of Christ within them, but the Gospel of the Resurrection shows us how, even before the Day of Pentecost, they were in process of receiving the first from their conviction that He who died upon the Cross had risen again as their Saviour and their King; and the second from the words He spoke to them before His final departure from earth. It is just this interval between the Easter morning and the Ascension which makes possible that *Expansion of Christianity*, of which Harnack has written so well. Is he really prepared to abandon as apocryphal the visit of the two disciples to Emmaus, the appearances to Mary Magdalene and Thomas, and the threefold commission, blotting out the threefold denial? If these things were not really so, where shall we find the man who was capable of inventing them? The strange thing is that Harnack, who accepts so much, and tells us "Whatever may have happened at the grave and in the matter of the appearances, one thing is certain: *This grave was the birthplace of the indestructible belief that death is vanquished, that there is a life eternal*,"[1] should be staggered at so little. It was not the visit to the empty tomb that gave birth to that belief. The women who were first there fled from it, "for trembling and astonishment had come upon them and they were afraid." It was not the tomb, not the vision of angels, not even the apparition of Jesus Himself, so changed and so mysterious; but the words which He uttered that made them feel that their Lord was still with them, and would be with them always, the same yet not the same.[2] If Christ is the first-fruits; if we, like Him, are to be raised again in a spiritual body, why should we find it hard to believe that He could hold communion with His friends after His return to earth? What is there contrary to reason in the idea that the action of

[1] The italics are Harnack's.

[2] See this truth admirably illustrated in Dr. Abbott's *Philochristus*.

spirit on spirit would be interpreted in terms of the material body by those who were still immersed in flesh ? It was so at least in the vision of St. Paul, which had so deep an influence on his life. Yet the words which had such mighty power over him were unheard by others. I do not suppose that in our present state we are capable of arriving at any certain conclusion as to the actual manner in which our Lord communicated with His disciples after the resurrection, but even to us under our present limitations such communication does not appear inconceivable, and I see no reason for doubting that before His ascent to heaven our Lord had removed the prohibition against the evangelization of the Gentiles, and had laid down the order in which the Gospel should be preached to different communities, in the words, "Ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea and Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." In these words He prepared the disciples to take the further step, preaching to Samaritans, when they were driven out from Jerusalem (Acts viii. 4 foll.), and to the Gentiles, as the call came to each of the Brethren (Acts viii. 22 foll., x. and xi. 20).

JOSEPH B. MAYOR.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

XV. QUALIFICATIONS OF THE DEACONS.

THE rules (or rather the advice, for there is no real question of fixed regulations in the letters) about Deacons are very similar in character to those about Bishops or Elders. Corresponding to the lesser importance of the office, they are more briefly given; but it would be a mistake to conclude too quickly that the differences are due solely to abbreviation or omission of some of the principles respecting the Bishops. The variations require to be examined in detail, and are not

uninstructive. We are deprived of the help of comparison with the other Pastorals, as Deacons are not mentioned in Titus, and in 2 Timothy iv. 5 the Diaconate of Timothy is merely spoken about in general terms (translated " ministry " in the Revised and the Authorized Version).

It would at first sight appear as if the condition of good reputation required for the Bishops, and regarded in their case as so important that their reputation even among the pagans must be scrutinized, was not required in the selection of Deacons. But instead of it a much more effective provision is introduced, which attains the desired end in a more certain way : there shall be a certain period or kind of probation, before they are definitely appointed : " but let these also first be proved ; then let them serve as Deacons, if they be blameless."

In Meyer-Weiss's *Kommentar* it is maintained that the opening phrase, *καὶ οὗτοι δέ*, indicates " the Deacons in distinction from the Bishops " ; and yet in the same work it is maintained that the " proving " of the Deacons is substantially the same process as the examination of the reputation of the Bishops. But there is no need for the adversative " but," if the process is the same in both cases. Meyer-Weiss put forward as a reason for the adversative, that in the case of the Bishops only those qualifications are mentioned which can be observed through scrutiny of their past life, whereas in the case of Deacons regard is paid also, and especially, to those qualifications whose presence will first be shown in the exercise of the duties of their office. Surely, however, it is as important to scrutinize the latter class of qualities in a Bishop as in a Deacon : moreover, when Meyer-Weiss give examples of the latter class of qualities, they mention only two, " not given to much wine," and, " not greedy of filthy lucre." Now, with regard to those two qualities we observe that (1) they are expected and mentioned also in the case of a

Bishop;[1] (2) it is simply absurd, and pure verbiage, to say that those qualities could be detected only in the discharge of a Deacon's office and not earlier. There is no quality easier to detect and more difficult to hide than the tendency to drink; and there is very little, if any, reason to think that, in the circumstances of ancient life, the Deacon would be more exposed to temptation in this respect after than before he took office.

Even if we assume that Meyer-Weiss are right, and that the peculiar form of this provision in the case of Deacons is intended to ensure qualities which can be observed only in the actual discharge of their duties, the best way would be to submit the Deacons to a probation as well as to a scrutiny of their past life; but Meyer-Weiss will not admit that a probation (in the full sense which is ordinarily attached to the word) was intended. It must, of course, be allowed that the Greek word[2] does not necessarily imply probation, and is quite well satisfied by a careful scrutiny; but Meyer-Weiss lay special emphasis on the fact that exactly the same kind of scrutiny was applied to the Bishops.[3]

For my own part I cannot understand the pointed contrast expressed between the testing of Deacons and that of Bishops except on the supposition that there was some distinct difference in the two cases; and the most natural and probable supposition seems to be that a Deacon had to go through some kind of probation, whereas a Bishop was

[1] *μὴ πάροινον* with its results, and *ἀφιλάργυρον*. One cannot draw much distinction between those epithets, and the different epithets applied to the Deacons: instead of *ἀφιλάργυρος*, *μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς* is said of the deacons in 1 Timothy and of the Bishops in Titus. The phrase about wine-drinking is a little more emphatic in the case of Deacons, *μὴ οἴνῳ πολλῷ προσέχοντας*. On the sense of the other pair of epithets, see next Section.

[2] *δοκιμαζέσθωσαν*.

[3] *Dass eine solche Prüfung hinsichtlich der Bischöfe angestellt würde, versteht sich allerdings von selbst.*

elected and appointed forthwith. Such was the view taken by Luther and others of Paul's intention in these words.[1]

That a Deacon should undergo probation, from which a Bishop was exempt, evidently arises from the fact that no Bishops were chosen who had not already abundantly proved their character in the eyes of all the world, whereas younger and less known persons were often appointed as Deacons. Hence, even at Ephesus no condition is made by Paul that the Deacon must not be "a novice": on the other hand, he evidently contemplated the possibility that neophytes might be chosen as Deacons.

Thus, in examining the difference in respect of the tests imposed on the Elders and the Deacons, we have incidentally found the reason why a difference exists in the condition as to length of Christian experience, in the two cases.

As to the condition that the Deacon must be grave (*σεμνός*), while the Bishop must be temperate, sober-minded, orderly (*νηφάλιος, σώφρων, κόσμιος*), these seem to be mere varieties of expression. The Greek word *σεμνός* is defined very well by the other three adjectives. In respect of those purely moral qualities we observed in the preceding Section that considerable difference of language (but little of real meaning) existed in the conditions for selection of a Bishop in Titus, from those which are mentioned in 1 Timothy.

A much more important variation is found in the very first remark made about the Bishop, that "if a man seeketh after the office of a Bishop, he desireth an honourable work." Nothing exactly similar is said in respect of a Deacon. We inferred that Paul emphatically expressed his approval of candidature for the position of a Presbyter or Bishop. Did

[1] Even, if there was not a probation in the sense of making the person under consideration do the work of the office on trial for some time, there was at least a probation in the sense of some much more rigorous and practical trial than was imposed on one who was being considered as a possible Bishop.

he, then, not desire to encourage Christians to seek after the office of Deacon ? The question suggests at once the answer. He encourages people to do so at the end of his regulations, but expresses himself in a different way : " they that have served well as Deacons gain to themselves a good standing, and great boldness in the Faith." This corresponds to the encouragement given to Bishops ; and the variation is suited to the difference of duties. There can hardly be a doubt, and, so far as I have observed, no one expresses any doubt, that Paul's words imply that a good Deacon would have an improved chance of being elected to the office of Bishop, because he becomes better known and more valued for the qualities that he possesses. This does not imply that the Diaconate was a lower and the Bishopric a higher grade in a fixed order of ministry. But it is clear that the duties and the position of a Deacon were humbler in character than those of a Bishop. But in actual life, and especially under the Roman Empire, where the idea of gradation of service and of promoting from lower to higher office in a fixed order was familiar to all, there was a strong and inevitable tendency to make the Diaconate a stage preliminary to the Bishopric, though there was no such implication in Paul's words. The idea of gradation came in and governed the common practice in the Church ; but the Pauline freedom was not lost for many centuries, and occasional examples occurred in which Bishops were appointed who had not gone through the lower grade.

There is also a difference of language in regard to another condition. The Bishop must be "apt to teach" (διδακτικός) : this was an important side of his duty, and his qualifications for it must be evident before his appointment. That the Deacon should have proved himself apt to teach is not required ; but this does not mean that teaching was outside of his sphere of duty. All Christians should be teachers (as

Paul held in unison with the spirit of the entire Church); and *a fortiori* a Deacon should teach. But it is not required that he should have shown special aptitude (as it is in the case of a Bishop): it is required only that he should have the fundamental quality of true faith and knowledge, "holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience." He may have this mystery hidden deep in his heart, and lack the power of setting it in words before others; but he must have the mystery in his heart. In his life as a Deacon he will acquire experience in making it known to others, and thus "gain to himself great boldness in the Faith which is in Jesus Christ."

This last consideration places it beyond doubt that the Deaconship was understood by Paul as a good preparation for the office of Bishop, though not as a necessary preliminary stage in the progress towards it.

There remain two other points of difference in the qualifications of Deacons and Presbyters, which are noteworthy as throwing some light on the duties of the two offices. The Bishop must be given to hospitality: no such qualification is required for the Deacon. It has been often pointed out that the Bishop was the representative of the congregation both in its relations with other congregations and in its relations with the pagan world generally and the State. Hospitality was a duty incumbent on Bishops beyond others, though of course it was a duty for all Christians. The Bishops, however, were responsible for this, and specially charged with the entertainment of delegates from and the communication by letter with other congregations. It would be difficult for a Bishop to exercise this hospitality without a certain command of money; and hence various consequences spring from it, which need not here be discussed. As the representative of the congregation in its relations with the pagan world, the city authorities and the Imperial

government, it would be specially needful that the Bishop should "have good testimony from them that are without."[1]

The Deacon had no special need for this qualification. He was not responsible for hospitality, except in the same way as all Christians were. He did not represent the congregation in the eyes of the outer world.

On the other hand, the Deacon must not be "double-tongued" (δίλογος). Nothing similar is said in regard to the Bishops. It might be suggested that this was implied in the other moral qualities with which he must be endowed. But stress is laid on it in the case of the Deacon (who, as we saw, is required to have a similarly high character); and therefore, it must have been a quality peculiarly needed in his case, i.e., he must in his duties have been under strong temptation to become "double-tongued." The word implied a person who spoke sometimes in one fashion, sometimes in another, who would say one thing to one person and another thing to another. Now there can be no doubt that the work of Deacons was more closely connected with the indoor and family life of members of the congregation than the work of Presbyters. The Deacons had more intimate duties in the administration of charity and help where it was needed. They had to find out the needs of individuals, to go about among the members of the congregation, and to converse and to sympathize with them. There was great temptation to say too much to one person or in one family, and thus to be betrayed into inconsistency and self-contradiction in speaking to another. Nothing is easier than for a person to slip into the fault of double-tonguedness, when he is trying to accommodate himself to various families in one congregation. Sound sense and perfect straightforwardness are the safe-

[1] In the preceding Section it was an omission not to lay stress on this aspect of the matter: what is there said is, I think, true in itself, but not complete.

guard; and those qualities were not useless in a Deacon.

The minute examination of the conditions prescribed in the selection of Deacons affords a strong presumption that the First Epistle to Timothy is a real letter written in the stress of practical administration by an administrator familiar with the situation. The conditions are so detailed and minute, and the variations from the conditions prescribed for the Bishops are so slight and yet so suitable, that one cannot imagine how a writer who was (according to the now fashionable view) piecing together scraps of letters written by Paul and adding parts to connect these scraps after a fashion, could produce such a result. From a process like that there could never come forth a letter which reflects so accurately the facts of practical life. Equally impossible is it to suppose that a writer of the second century, whose object was to use the authority of Paul's name against a current heresy, could work in so much minute positive regulation into his polemic, which was in intention negative.

XVI. Deaconesses.

In the middle of the regulations about Deacons there is interposed a short statement about women: "After the same fashion women must be grave, not scandal-mongers, temperate, faithful in all things." Then the discussion of Deacons proceeds.

From the situation of this sentence, and from the introductory word "in like manner" (ὡσαύτως), it seems beyond question that this sentence refers not to Christian women in general, but to the class of women who were selected for congregational work, i.e., Deaconesses. The word *Diakonos* is understood generically of both sexes, without actually using the official title Diakónissa: this was facilitated by the fact that the Deaconesses were sometimes called by the

same form in Greek διάκονοι (and Paul himself speaks in that way, Rom. xvi. 1).

As to the qualifications of women-officials in the Church, the reasons are obvious. Their work was in the home life of the congregation. They had to mix with the Christian families, and to be intimately acquainted with domestic circumstances. There is appropriateness in the provision that they must be specially free from any tendency to talk in one house about the affairs of another: that tendency is almost inseparable from the spreading of slander (μὴ διάβολοι); the analogy to the provision about Deacons (μὴ δίλογοι) is evident, and the reason is similar. That they should be characterized by self-command and by trustworthiness in every respect is obvious.

It has been thought by Luther and others (e.g., Von Soden) that the women who are here meant are the wives of Deacons. There can, however, be little, if any, doubt, that the reference is to all women officially selected for congregational work. But the question is an open one, whether the wives of Deacons may not have been chosen by preference as Deaconesses. The question has been raised in reference to some Lycaonian Christian inscriptions of the fourth century; but the evidence was found insufficient to justify any positive conclusion.[1] Some of the inscriptions suggest the thought that the wives of Deaconesses and Presbyters may perhaps have borne the title of their husbands. There was among the Pagans a tendency, and even in some cults a positive custom, that the wife of a priest was officially a priestess; and it is quite likely that among the Christians some tendency to appoint husband and wife as Deacon and Deaconess prevailed.

[1] See *Luke the Physician, and other Studies:* the last paper on the "Lycaonian Church in the Fourth Century."

XVII. Were the Officials a Clerical Order?

Dr. Plummer, in his excellent work on the Pastoral Epistles, regards it as one of the four or five fundamental inferences from which his investigation starts, that in this and the other Pastoral Epistles there is implied a distinction already clear and recognized between an order of clergy and the ordinary members of the congregation, the laity.[1]

It may be questioned whether this does not introduce a later thought and a later classification. Probably we have in the Pastorals only an older form of thought and organization, which developed later into this distinction.

It is quite evident that there existed in Paul's mind, and in the actual facts of the situation in the early Churches, a distinction, strong and well marked, between officials and the ordinary members of the congregation. But it does not seem to the present writer so clear as it does to Dr. Plummer that this distinction was exactly similar to what is understood in modern times as the distinction between clergy and laity. The official was one of the ordinary congregation selected for a special purpose, in order that he might devote himself continuously to a certain series of duties; but it does not appear that those duties lay outside of the sphere of any ordinary Christian. On the contrary, it appears rather that those duties were incumbent on all Christians, although in the circumstances of life it was difficult or impossible for most people to give continuous or sufficient attention to them. The duties had to be performed in order that the congregation might preserve its unity and be an organic

[1] P. 111. "Three things come out very clearly from this passage, confirming what has been found in the New Testament. (1) There is a clear distinction made between clergy and laity. (2) This distinction is not a temporary arrangement, but is the basis of a permanent organization. (3) A person who has been duly promoted to the ranks of the clergy as a presbyter or bishop holds that position for life. Unless he is guilty of some serious offence, to depose him is no light sin."

body; but all members of the congregation were equally eligible as officials according to their fitness. At any moment any member might be selected by the voice and consent of his fellows for official position and honour; and such general consent and opinion was apparently regarded as the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Any such spontaneous yet solemn act of choice would have been naturally and reverently expressed in the words of the Decree issued by the Apostolic Congress in Jerusalem (Acts xv. 28): "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us."

Does this amount to the distinction between the clergy and the laity, as it is now understood? Certainly, it shows an essential difference from the distinction as it is understood in the Roman Church. The Bishop is to Paul an ordinary good Christian householder, ruling his family well. It is not to be understood that he *must* have a family; but that certainly was no disqualification (as it is in the modern Roman Church); and one cannot but feel that Paul, having regard to actual facts in a congregation and to human nature, had acquired the conviction that it was a positive recommendation in a candidate for office, that he had shown himself a judicious head of a family. The number of those who could lead the divine life devoted to God and sacrificing the family relationship (1 Cor. vii. 7 ff.) was too small to keep the congregational organization in good working order. Those exceptional persons would display their special fitness, when they arose; but these recommendations are intended to guide choice among the ordinary Church members, and take no account of exceptional cases, which will impose themselves by their own power and the power of the Spirit.

No preparation or special training is prescribed either for Bishops or Deacons. The nearest approach to a period of training is the probation (whatever that was) which was prescribed in the selection of Deacons. When an order of

clergy comes into existence, a period and system of training, instruction and preparation becomes practically a necessity. Every Christian was potentially a priest, though circumstances might deny him the opportunity of developing his position and training to its proper consummation. With such a view it seems inconsistent to draw any deep or essential distinction between priest and layman after the modern fashion (if I rightly understand that fashion).

Was the office of Deacon or of Bishop understood by Paul as one that could be laid down at will ? Could the Bishop sink back into the position of an ordinary member of the congregation ? It is certain that the office was permanent and not for a stated period. It was not on the level of the magistracies in the Hellenic cities, to which one was elected for a year or even less. It was on the grade of certain offices, chiefly or entirely hieratic, in the cities of Asia, which were held for life (*διὰ βίου*). The individual was chosen on account of his fitness, and his fitness was practically a permanent and inalienable characteristic. There is in these regulations no question of or opening for relapse from the higher position.

Whether degradation in case of proved unfitness was possible is not stated : Paul's intention is to guard against the need of degradation by care in selection : he is not formulating a code of laws to meet all possible emergencies, but giving advice as to the best way of performing the urgent and unavoidable duty of selecting Bishops and Deacons.

That the office carried with it higher rank in the congregation, is evident throughout. Office is a worthy object of desire. Christians should aim at office, and are encouraged to be candidates for office. There is no reason to think that the number of officials was fixed, so that choice was needed only when a vacancy occurred. On the contrary, the clear assumption throughout is that no one is chosen, unless he

possesses the qualifications entirely and without drawback. There is no question of filling up a vacancy by choosing the best available person, even though he has not all the qualifications. The Christian ideal is different. Every one who is fully worthy is chosen. It is not a case where a crown is awarded only to the single best competitor : all who deserve it win it. The position of Bishop or of Deacon is honourable ; but it means a life of continuous, self-sacrificing work, not of mere outward honour and display.

The question, therefore, whether the officials in the Pauline Churches formed a clerical order as distinguished from the laity becomes a question of definition. What is meant by the terms clergy and laity ? As those terms are now commonly understood, there was no such distinction in the early congregations. But there was a clear distinction between officials and ordinary members. The officials had proved to general opinion their right to be officials, i.e., to do habitually all that a Christian should do, and to be trusted with the management of the business and corporate life of the whole body ; and that business was mainly, but not entirely, religious and charitable, didactic and hospitable ; the officer was the servant of the servants of God.

If the definition of a clerical order is simply that the members have been marked out by the " laying on of hands," and if all other characteristics and conditions are regarded as unimportant, then there was a clerical order in the early Pauline Churches ; but it was a very different institution from the clergy in the modern Churches.

The meaning of the Bishop's and Deacon's qualification, that he must be " no lover of money," or " not greedy of filthy lucre," has perhaps some bearing on this question. The general understanding seems to be that this indicates simply superiority to bribery. This is, no doubt, included in the connotation of the two terms ; and that common

Oriental failing was at least as dangerous and as necessary to guard against in the Eastern Church as it would be in the West. But one may well doubt whether that was the chief thought in Paul's mind. The second term, which is used about both Bishops and Deacons, means rather "not gaining money by dishonourable means," and really points to the idea that an official must not be engaged in any disgraceful or low-class trade. The thought is specially a Roman one; in Rome certain trades which were reckoned dishonourable, such as that of an auctioneer, constituted a disqualification legally for public office. Paul, having in the first place used the more general term, "not a lover of money" (*ἀφιλάργυρος*), afterwards employed the more definite expression (*μὴ αἰσχροκερδής*).

This raises the further question whether the Bishop, on election to office, abandoned his trade, and devoted himself wholly to official duties. That is a question which has been elsewhere treated; but there seems every probability that in some cases, at least, he continued (just as Paul himself did) to exercise his occupation.

XVIII. Slaves in the Christian Church.

The attitude of Paul towards slavery is a difficult subject. Here his opinions were a compromise between two different forces, or a mean between two extremes. On the one hand, there shall be in the perfect Church no distinction of slave and free; all are free, all are on an equal footing in the religion of Christ. "There can be no distinction of nationality nor of sex: there can be neither bond nor free; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." [1] On the other hand, the established social system must not be hastily altered. After all, such a matter as this, which is part of an evanescent and transitional state, should not be regarded as if it were an absolute

[1] Gal. iii. 28; Col. iii. 11.

end in itself. The slave can live a life as truly Christian as the freeman can; and it is infinitely more important for him to live his own life well than to seek for emancipation in the present world. Paul's whole teaching on the subject is an expansion of the Saviour's principle: "Seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."

The development of the Church, the conquest of the world for Christ: that was the present and instant duty. For that every Christian must work: having wrought out his own salvation, he must work out the salvation of others. To seek to revolutionize the existing system of Roman society could not conduce to that end, but might on the contrary seriously imperil it, and indefinitely postpone it.

Moreover, for a slave to make emancipation and freedom his first aim was a false system of action. To seek to get one's rights is not so important as to learn and to perform one's duties: the former is a narrower and a more selfish aim: the latter is as wide as the universe. The world in which the Christian has to live is evil: his life must always be encompassed with evils: it is of little or no importance to diminish those evils by one. Let him seek the kingdom of God, and the evils will be eliminated as that kingdom is realized on earth. He that loses his life shall gain it: he that sacrifices his freedom for the moment shall gain it in the long run.

Hence is explained the tone of Paul's counsel to Timothy. Not a word is said about the wrongs of slavery, or the right of man to be free. The omission is undoubtedly disappointing at first sight, and the advice given is apt to appear rather temporizing, as if Paul were making terms with evil. Yet, when one takes a dispassionate view of the whole situation, one recognizes that the spread of Christianity produced gradually a higher atmosphere of thought, in which slavery cannot live. The more fully Christianity is realized in any

society, the more thoroughly will slavery be destroyed. It is not yet destroyed anywhere in all its forms ; but its worst forms have been eradicated in the most Christian lands, and lessened over the whole world. The duty of seeking to establish equality of opportunities and rights is more generally recognized and admitted than it was in former ages. " 'Tis something : nay, 'tis much." Above all, it is now fully recognized that the Church should be the champion of freedom ; and it is expected that teachers in the Church should preach freedom and discountenance slavery in every form. The platform on which human society moves and thinks is now on a higher and nobler level.

Moreover, the historical student, as he surveys the life of the Roman period, must recognize that, if Christian teaching had made the establishment of the kingdom of God its secondary and remoter aim, and had begun by emphasizing the right of every man to be free, slavery would now be as universal as it was then, and there would be no Christianity. The religion which postponed the kingdom of God to the freedom of man would have lost its vitality and sunk to the level of other religions ; and its history would merely have added one more episode to the story of human degeneration.

Not merely was such an aim as the abolition of slavery in the Empire impossible of realization at the time ; not merely would the striving after it have sacrificed purposes that were even more noble and more immediately pressing : it could not have been brought about without fighting ; and the Christian teaching is against the pursuit of any object which is attainable only through war, especially civil war. It may be questioned by the observer of history whether any of the steps in national progress that have been gained at the cost of war have not been bought at too dear a price : certainly, the price has always to be paid in the long run, and it is heavy ; and in the process of payment the

value of the step in progress is seriously diminished. In many cases the student of past history must feel that the progress might have been more rapid, more beneficial, and less costly, if it had been sought by peaceful means and not by war.

Paul advises Timothy to teach that the Christian slave of a pagan master should honour, obey and respect his master. It would bring discredit on the Church, and cause ill-feeling against the Church in the society of the Roman Empire, if Christian slaves were found to be discontented or disobedient. The slave must cheerfully sacrifice his freedom, reconcile himself to his lot, and do the work that is ordered; the Name and the Teaching will thus be saved from discredit and vilification.

The next part of the advice causes even more difficulty to our modern view. Timothy is not directed to preach that a Christian master should discountenance slavery, or should even set free a slave who is a Christian. One may at first be disposed to think that Mohammed's teaching was better, because Mohammed laid down the principle that a slave who embraces Islam gains his freedom from a Moslem master. But Paul only advises that the Christian slave of a Christian master should serve all the more gladly, because he is doing service and giving help to a Christian; and strongly discourages the slave from showing any insolence, or presuming on the fact that master and slave meet together in the same assembly for common worship. It is an opinion too widely spread to be altogether without justification, that mission training of converts in modern times has often tended to produce this temper in them; and the impression has been distinctly prejudicial to the cause of missions.

We must, however, bear in mind that, practically, Mohammed gave to the slavery of non-Moslems a religious sanction by enacting that slaves were only set free, if they adopted the religion of Islam. Mohammedanism has been a

power that strengthened the hold of slavery on society by formally limiting the right of freedom. The Christian teaching always emphasizes the duties, and discourages the seeking after rights. Cheerful service, renunciation, self-sacrifice, form the lesson that it drives home into the minds of men. All else is secondary. That is primary, for it realizes the kingdom of God. The Christian must trust to the future.

There is, of course, no question as to any discrepancy between the teaching of this Epistle about slavery and the teaching of Paul elsewhere. The passages quoted from Colossians and Galatians express the consummation of the perfect Church. But in Ephesians vi. 5–9 the same practical advice as in 1 Timothy is given in even more emphatic terms. Again, in Philemon Paul sends a fugitive slave home to his master with an apology for his misconduct. He does indeed hint very delicately that the slave might gracefully be set free, but he does not suggest that freedom is his right, or that Philemon should set Onesimus free as a matter of duty. Rather, he puts as a personal favour to himself his hope that Philemon will receive the run-away kindly. The "rights of man" are not a Pauline idea; he urges only the duties of man.

The explanation of Paul's teaching about slavery, then, is that he is wholly out of sympathy with the modern principle that it is our duty to God to resist tyranny by any and every means and at all times. According to Paul our duty to God is to hasten the realization of the Kingdom of God. If resistance to tyranny conduces to that end, then the resistance is right. If submission to tyranny is more conducive, then we should submit. It is a question of means to an end; but the common modern mistake is to treat the means as an end in itself. The teaching of the early Church did not make that mistake; if it had, the consequences would have been fatal to the progress of the world.

W. M. Ramsay.

STUDIES IN THE PAULINE THEOLOGY.

XI. The Body of Christ.

(1) The love of God the Father through the grace of Christ the Saviour and the Lord in the fellowship of the Holy Spirit is received and is responded to by man in faith, hope, and love. Over against Pharisaic Judaism Paul maintained the thesis that man is justified, not by the works of the law, but by *faith*; over against Judaism in the Church he asserted that man is justified by *faith alone*. Works as a condition of salvation are neither alternative nor complementary to faith. What he understands by the *righteousness of God* which faith accepts we have already seen, now we must consider the nature of faith itself. It does mean trust in God's grace as revealed in Christ, an acceptance of the forgiveness of sin that has come to man in His Cross. It might thus appear to be only "a passive acquiescence in a vicarious righteousness." The weakness of evangelicalism has at certain periods of its history been that this was the current conception of faith. *Antinomianism*, moral laxity or even licence, has been the consequence, wherever faith has been emptied of moral content, and has been impoverished to mean assent to a plan of salvation, acceptance of the safety and the comfort the assurance of God's forgiveness gives without any corresponding and resulting moral change. Even at the Reformation and in Protestant dogmatics generally there has been the danger of such a view. What saves Paul's conception from such a peril is that he conceives faith as a personal relation to a personal Saviour. It is not a doctrine on the one hand, or assent thereto on the other hand which saves; it is man's dependence on, communion with, and submission to Christ as Saviour. The whole personality of man is exercised in faith; mind, heart, and will alike

claim, enjoy, and use what God in Christ offers. Man's inmost life is therein expressed. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness" (Rom. x. 10). When the inward man is strengthened with power through the Spirit of the Son of God, Christ dwells in the heart by faith, and man is rooted and grounded in love (Eph. iii. 16, 17). Faith *energises* in love (Gal. v. 6). There is a "work of faith" as well as a "labour of love," and an "endurance of hope" (1 Thess. i. 3); and the "work of faith" is companion to the "good pleasure of goodness" (2 Thess. i. 11). What the Gospel demands is "obedience of faith" (Rom. xvi. 26). The guilt of the Jews was that they did not subject themselves to the righteousness of God which faith receives (x. 3). Disbelief is due to pleasure in unrighteousness (2 Thess. iii. 12). Faith begins in the centre of the personality, the heart (Rom. x. 10); it reaches out to the circumference of the whole life, for in the Christian man "what is not of faith is sin" (xiv. 23). It is the whole personality of Christ which this faith receives, the Risen Lord as well as the Crucified Saviour, for it is both crucifixion and resurrection with them; it is such a union that life itself is nothing else than Christ (Phil. i. 21).

(2) In apparent contradiction to this representation of faith as the union of the whole man to the whole Christ, so that the human is taken up into, without being lost in, the divine, is the prominence given to hope in Paul's letters. If the Christian lives in Christ, because he has been crucified and has risen with Christ, surely he has all he can desire or expect. It is not only at the close of his Christian experience that Paul so identifies his life with Christ's. The declaration of Philippians i. 21, "To me to live is Christ," has its counterpart in Galatians ii. 20: "I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me." Such a faith must surely be sufficient; yet Paul affirms: "For by hope were we saved" (Rom.

viii. 24). This statement is not sufficiently explained by the fact that Paul cherished the common apostolic expectation of the Second Coming of Christ. He never abandoned that expectation, although he became less certain of his survival in the flesh to witness that great day; for him that expectation meant the full deliverance of the believer from sin's penalty in death through the resurrection, and also the victory of Christ Himself over all His foes. For many believers to-day the spiritual presence of Christ, as Paul so intensely experienced it, and the gradual progress of the kingdom of God on earth, which is suggested by some of the parables of Jesus, but of which neither Paul nor any of the other apostles had any conception, have entirely supplanted this apostolic expectation. Not so with Paul. There is no evidence whatever that he ever thought of the spiritual Presence as a fulfilment of the promise of the Second Advent in power and glory. Much as that spiritual Presence was to him, it did not give him all he hoped for in Christ; for does he not say, "Whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord," and "we are willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be at home with the Lord" (2 Cor. v. 6, 8)? It is for this reason that even though for him to live was Christ, to die was gain. A clearer vision, a closer communion, a fuller service was what he looked for. He felt very keenly the pains, sorrows, losses, and mysteries of this earthly life. For him the creation was "subjected to vanity," and waited to be "delivered from the bondage of corruption." This earth was not for him the treasure-house or the pleasure-ground it is for so many; for what he witnessed was "the whole creation groaning and travailing in pain together" (Rom. viii. 18–22), and even the believer groaned within himself, waiting for his adoption, the redemption of his body (v. 23). It is difficult for us to realise how great a problem human mortality was to Paul, and how bright a hope the

assurance of resurrection. It is with reference to this deliverance from death that believers are described as the children who have not yet entered into the full possession of their inheritance. They are now heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ, now suffering with Him in order afterward to be glorified (*vv.* 16, 17). Thus Paul's faith was necessarily completed by his hope; for the perfect Christian good still lay in the future.

(3) With faith and hope Paul allies love, and gives to it the first place. Why he declares love the greatest is a question not hard to answer. Both faith and hope are receptive graces, love is the communicative grace. Because "it is more blessed to give than to receive" love is the greatest. God is love, and love makes man likest God. Faith energises in love; love is its expression and exercise (Gal. v. 6). What need to repeat what Paul has said of the manifold virtues and services love inspires in 1 Corinthians xiii.? But even a loftier height is reached in Ephesians iv. 31–v. 2: "Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and railing, be put away from you, with all malice; and be ye kind to one another, tender-hearted, forgiving each other, even as God also in Christ forgave you. Be ye therefore imitators of God, as beloved children; and walk in love, even as Christ also loved you, and gave himself up for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for an odour of a sweet smell." This is surely an echo of Christ's teaching in the Sermon on the Mount. "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Matt. v. 48). Just as Jesus presented the precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Mark xii. 31), as the summary of human duty, so Paul argues that "love is the fulfilment of the law" because "love worketh no ill to his neighbour" (Rom. xiii. 10). This conception of Christian duty is the best ancient Jewish morality vitalised by love, and does not here demand

any detailed discussion. Some of the social problems of the age for the solution of which Paul found it necessary for the guidance of his converts to apply this principle will engage our attention in the next Study.

It is noteworthy that Paul who writes so much about love as the expression of faith only twice expressly mentions love to God. In the one passage he seems to be freely quoting Isaiah lxiv. 4, and renders the characteristic Hebrew phrase "him that waiteth for him" by the more distinctively Christian "them that love him" (1 Cor. ii. 9). In the other he has contrasted the knowledge that puffeth up, and the love that edifieth, and over against the man who is confident of his knowledge, and so displays his ignorance, he sets the man who loveth God, and therefore is known of God (1 Cor. viii. 1–3). The implicit argument of this passage may be thus made explicit. He who has the highest kind of love, love for God, will also have the love for another which builds him up in the Christian faith and life. He who is the object of the highest kind of knowledge—God's, will himself be the subject of the best kind of knowing. Thus love and knowledge at first contrasted are shown to be when at their best inseparable. The writer cannot recall a passage in which love to Christ is expressly mentioned, for the phrase "the love of Christ" in 2 Corinthians v. 14 does undoubtedly mean Christ's love for the Christian; and yet what is described as the constraint of Christ's love is surely equivalent to love for Christ, not a romantic attachment, or a sentimental devotion, but a personal submission. No longer to live unto self, but only unto Christ is nothing else than love. It is the love of God faith receives as grace now, hope awaits as glory hereafter. This love reproduces itself first as grateful love to God in Christ, and then as generous love to all men, especially to those that are of the household of the faith (Gal. vi. 10).

(4) It is from the standpoint of Christian life as faith, hope,

and love, that we must look at Paul's conception of the Christian Church. As faith is living union with Christ Himself, the community of believers in any place, however few in number or feeble in resource, is assured of His presence and power. Accordingly, every local congregation is His Church, equipped with the gifts, and fitted for the duties of His people. Paul in his letters habitually applies the term church to every gathering of Christians for the worship or work of Christ. But as it is the same Saviour and Lord to whom all believers are united by faith, all these Churches have their unity in Him, and so Paul can apply the same term to the whole body of believers, scattered in these local congregations over the Roman Empire. As it is Christ's presence and power that constitutes His Church, so wherever and everywhere He is and works His Church is. It is not strictly correct then to say that Paul uses the term Church in two senses, the local and the catholic or universal, for the same conception of faith as making one with Christ underlies both. The local congregation is not a part of the universal community, for that would be to deny its sufficiency as the Church of Christ; nor is the universal community merely the sum of the local congregations, for that would be to deny the unity of the Church of Christ. Just as God's omnipresence means that God is not only everywhere, but whole in every point of space; so for Christian faith, wherever believers are the Church is, and yet each gathering of believers is the Church. This is not a merely verbal refinement; but the writer believes that only thus can we pierce to the core of the conception of Paul regarding the Church. He did not distinguish the local congregation from the universal community as *a* church and *the* church, as part and whole or as unit and sum; but it is the very same Church that is in every spot, and embraces all believers, because it is the one Christ, who is in all and over all. It is this conception we must assume in Paul's descrip-

tion of the Church as a body in 1 Corinthians xii. It is with the exercise of the spiritual gifts in the Church in Corinth with which he is concerned to begin with; but towards the close of his argument he mentions as God's gifts to the Church "apostles, prophets, teachers," who were the itinerant ministry of the universal community, and did not confine their labours to a local congregation. The same figure of the body is applicable to both. We can retain Paul's conception of the Church then only as we combine the independence of the local congregation, because sufficient in Christ for the privileges and functions of the Church, with the unity of the universal community as in the one Lord.

(5) If we apply ourselves to the Christian grace of hope in the same way as to the grace of faith in order to discover what light it throws on the conception Paul had of the Church, we shall reach two conclusions. (i.) Does Paul's eager anticipation of the future as alone giving the Christian full possession of his whole inheritance in Christ not explain his indifference to, and neglect of compact organisation? This is not the place to discuss the varied forms of organisation which were adopted according to local circumstances, as our present purpose is the study of the Pauline theology. This fact must, however, be noted, that, constructive as was Paul's mind in the realm of doctrine, he formed no theory of the government of the Church; no polity can claim his apostolic authority. He approved and, when necessary, provided some form of organisation, but his interest was elsewhere in the consummation of God's purpose so long expected and so much desired. Although it is necessary for him to write much about the Church, it is not a just criticism of him or any of the apostles to affirm that they supplanted the kingdom by the Church; for what was their expectation of Christ's Second Advent but the hope of the coming of the kingdom of God? As an earthly institution the Church was for them

altogether secondary to this heavenly consummation. Order, discipline, government in the Church on earth there must be, and so far as is necessary Paul deals with these matters in his letters. What was to him most valuable in the life of the Church was the inspiration of its members, the manifold gifts in which the one Spirit manifested His presence and power in the Church. This enthusiasm and energy of the Church was sustained not only by the faith fixed on the Risen Lord, but also by the hope cherished of His coming in power and glory. (ii.) In another direction also may we look for the influence of Christian hope on Paul's conception of the Church. When we distinguish the reality of the Church on earth and its ideal in heaven, the Church as fact in history and as object of faith, and then ascribe the distinction to Paul, we probably just miss an understanding of his thought. In Ephesians there is present to his inner vision *the Church as the body of Christ*, the fulfilment of him that filleth all in all (i. 23), in which not only were the Gentiles who had been far off made nigh, but in which also the middle wall of partition had been broken down between Jew and Gentile, so that in Christ the twain had been made one new man (ii. 12–15), *the Church as a holy temple in the Lord* in whom all believers are builded together for a habitation of God (*vv.* 21, 22), *the Church as the Bride of Christ* without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but holy and without blemish (v. 27). If we think of what the Churches according to his testimony actually were, we cannot but be surprised at these ideals. That for Paul they were no vain imagination, no mocking illusion, is due to this, that the Christian hope was clear and strong within him. In regard to the Church he looked not at the things seen, but at the things unseen, for to him ever the things seen were temporal, and only the things unseen eternal. While Paul was not only a founder of churches, but knew also how to build them up, he was no ecclesiastic in the sense of being absorbed

in creed or code, polity or ritual. His upward and forward look seized the ideal and future as real and present ; and so even in the imperfect copy on earth he sees the perfect pattern in heaven. The Church is, and not merely will be, Christ's body, His Bride, God's temple, the Spirit's habitation.

(6) The figure of the body and its members which Paul repeatedly applies to the Church has meaning only as the place he assigns to love in Christian life is remembered and recognised. Any attempt to make this ideal a reality by means of a compact organisation is simply a caricature of his picture. The close connexion between 1 Corinthians xii. and xiii. is for most readers destroyed by the chapter division. Love alone can give to the Church that conscious common life which alone explains the constant and intense sympathy of the members of the Church described in the words, " Whether one member suffereth all the members suffer with it, or one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it " (xii. 26). It may be said that the unity of the Church is in the same spirit, the same Lord, and the same God amid the diversities of gifts, ministrations, and workings (4–6) ; but this unity is consciously and voluntarily realised in the individual members only by love. The divine unity can be reproduced only in the human union of affection, sympathy, service. If it is true that where Christ is the Church is, it is as true that where there is no love, there is no Church. Sacrament and hierarchy do not constitute the Church one body, but love exercised in the use of the gifts faith receives for the common good does. Spencer denies that human society is an organism in the sense of having a corporate consciousness ; for Paul the Church was perfectly a living body, because he saw its common consciousness in the love which Christians had for one another, from the motive and after the manner of Christ's love. The unity of the Church is constituted by its common faith in Christ, and the common love of the

members for one another, and through hope this unity is prophetic of the unity of all mankind in Christ; the divine reconciliation has its full effect in a society in which human antagonisms are reconciled. This Pauline conception of the Church is an ideal which judges the reality of a divided Christendom.

(7) The ministry of this Church is not an office conferring rights, but a gift imposing duties. What were the arrangements for the management of the Pauline Churches by elders, or by bishops and deacons, is of quite subordinate significance for the Christian Church, as local custom and temporary necessity were determining elements. What has permanent value is Paul's view of the ministry. In Romans xii. and 1 Corinthians xii. that view is fully stated. The ministry does not belong to any restricted order in the Church, but all the members are called to it according to the gift that has been bestowed on them. Spiritual endowment, and that alone, determines function in the Christian Church, and the only limitation on the use of any gift is the good of the whole community. It is to be noted that these gifts embrace not only the abnormal features of apostolic life, the speaking with tongues, working of miracles, prophecy, or impassioned utterance; but also the more usual activities of relieving the needs of the poor, teaching, exhorting, giving and ruling. For Paul there was no such distinction as we incline to make between the supernatural charisms and the natural powers; all for him were alike supernatural as the working of the same Spirit of God. The recognition of the supernatural character of all the gifts did not, however, lead Paul to commend or approve their unrestrained exercise. It is surely a distinct evidence of the moral insight of Paul that he should have insisted as he did that the exercise of each of those gifts was to be altogether controlled by the interests of the whole community, and that even, when so controlled, there was the

more excellent way of love (1 Cor. xii.). In this conception of the Church as a body, each member of which is by the one Spirit endowed for a different function, Paul does anticipate the modern view of society as progressively organic. There is not only more need, but also greater promise of integration, to use the current terms, where there is more differentiation of organs and their corresponding functions. The complexity of an ecclesiastical organisation need not be a danger to the spiritual unity so long as the differentiation is not artificial, but the working of the Spirit of God who worketh all things in all, and the integration is not by human devices, but by the love which uses every gift for the common good That the abnormal features of the Apostolic Age should be reproduced is by no means to be desired as necessary to the realization of Paul's ideal of ministry. In a society so complex as ours the Church needs, and should exercise, a very varied ministry; if there were the enthusiasm and energy of the Apostolic Church would not faith secure and love exercise as varied gifts ?

(8) When we turn from Paul's views on the Church and its ministry to his references to the sacraments, as these have been interpreted by many scholars, we seem to be going down to a lower standpoint. On the one hand he does depreciate baptism in comparison with the preaching of the Gospel. He thanks God that he has himself baptized so few of the Corinthian converts, and declares, " Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel " (1 Cor. i. 17). But on the other hand he is reported by Luke as requiring the rebaptism of the twelve disciples of John the Baptist, and as accompanying the ordinance by the laying on of his hands so as to secure for the baptized the gift of the Holy Ghost (Acts xix. 1–7). Should it be objected that Luke may be affected in his record by the current beliefs, one must reckon with Paul's statement in Romans vi. 1–4, in which he connects

directly with his baptism the believer's inward change of dying unto sin and rising again unto newness of life to God with Christ. In our interpretation of the passage we must avoid two extremes. On the one hand we cannot dismiss the reference to baptism as casual and so insignificant, and on the other we must not assume that the form of the rite must be immersion, so as to sustain the analogy beween baptism and burial. It is with the fact and not the form of baptism that Paul in this passage is concerned. If it were but a passing illustration Paul had intended, would he have introduced it into so serious an argument, and so solemn an appeal? Probably his own baptism had been to him a pregnant experience (Acts ix. 17–19) not only of the recovery of sight and of the possession of the Holy Spirit, but of absolute submission to the truth and grace of Christ. If it had not meant much to the converts he is addressing, would he not have lessened the force of his argument by such a reference? From this fact, however, we are not justified at once in inferring that Paul held views about the efficacy of the ordinance which should now appear to us superstitious. There is no suggestion in the passage that he held that it was the ordinance itself that altered the relation of believers to Christ. It is a conscious and voluntary process of repentance, and faith accompanying the ordinance he has in view, as his appeal to the converts to make their baptisms a constant reality shows. "Even so reckon ye also yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus" (*v.* 11). For unimaginative and unimpressionable minds there may be a great distinction between a sacrament as a sign and pledge of divine grace and as a vehicle thereof; but in an intense religious experience there is not; for the assurance of divine grace received is the possession of divine grace experienced. It is thus we must understand Paul's reference.

(9) In the account of the Lord's Supper which he had

received he not only preserves the common tradition, but includes the spiritual interpretation, which, as he believed himself to possess the mind of Christ, he did not distinguish from it (1 Cor. xi. 23–34), It is primarily commemoration of Christ's death, but also a proclamation until His Second Advent. That death is remembered and declared as sacrificial, the sacrifice of the new covenant unto forgiveness of sin. There is no suggestion of any transubstantiation or consubstantiation of the wine and the bread. As the context shows, the eating of the bread and the drinking of the cup unworthily is not any failure to discover in the elements the actual body and blood of Jesus; but the neglect and denial of the significance of the *death for all*, so remembered and proclaimed, by excess and class-separation in the membership of the Church. To be "guilty of the body of and the blood of the Lord" is to treat profanely, without due reverence and gratitude, the death for man's salvation; and this is done when the feast of commemoration and remembrance is turned into a common meal disgraced by selfishness and greed. "Not to discern the body" is to fail to understand what the ordinance signifies. A worthy observance would, through the remembrance and declaration of Christ's death, bring a communion with the Living Lord full of blessing. Here as in baptism we must suppose Paul had found a vehicle as well as a sign and pledge of divine grace. There is here nothing inconsistent with a genuinely moral and spiritual standpoint.

When Paul adds, however, "For this cause many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep" (*v.* 30), he draws a conclusion in which we may hesitate to follow him. That disease and death were the Lord's punishment of the unworthy observance of the Lord's Supper is an interpretation of divine providence from the Jewish rather than the Christian standpoint. We must insist, however, that there

is no reason for assuming that he held the superstitious notion that in the ordinance itself there was a noxious efficacy for the unworthy partakers, as well as a beneficent influence for them who worthily partook. We should not ascribe magical notions to him without much more conclusive evidence than any we now possess. In 1 Corinthians x. 14–22 he describes the Supper as a communion of the blood and the body of Christ ; but the context shows that he does not mean that it is the body and the blood that are literally partaken of. Verse 17 describes the Church itself as one bread and one body because all the members partake of the one bread. This forbids a prosaic literalness of interpretation. Such an interpretation would involve that the sacrifices to idols become the body and the blood of demons. What Paul does affirm is that in the Lord's Supper the believer enters into communion with Christ, his life becomes one with Christ's. His judgment on pagan sacrifices, that they involve such communion of the worshippers with demons, may be explained by the excess and licentiousness that marked not a few religious rites of the heathen ; but he himself asserts this view as one-sided in recognising even in idolatry a seeking after the God who is near each one, which even in its errors God in " times of ignorance overlooked " (Acts xvii. 27–30). The belief in demons and the judgment of idolatry Paul brought with him into his Christian faith from Judaism ; but his experience of Christ's presence with him in the Supper in no way depends on the conclusion regarding pagan sacrifices.

(10) In dealing with Paul's conception of the Church ministry and sacraments it is probably more difficult than in any other subject to maintain a strictly objective standpoint as the personal equation is likely to obtrude. The writer has tried at least to avoid this peril. Possibly, as many modern scholars are insisting, Paul was more thoroughly

a man of his own people and age, with all the limitations which that involved, than Christian theologians generally have been prepared to concede. But that he held not spiritual and moral, but often magical views of the sacraments seems to the writer to require far more conclusive evidence than yet has been furnished. That he was a sacramentarian in the modern sense of the word, the treatment of the Jewish law, and especially of circumcision, in the Epistle to the Galatians makes it quite impossible to believe. How could the man who declared that both circumcision and uncircumcision availed nothing, only faith energising in love, assign superior efficacy for the Christian life to any "weak and beggarly rudiments" (Gal. iv. 9)? It is surely to miss his intention to suppose that his argument is not directed against ritualism generally, but against the combination of Jewish with Christian ritualism. He who laid all emphasis on the sufficiency of faith alone to bring each believer into living union with God in Christ, thus giving the spirit of adoption and freedom of access, was no sacerdotalist. What would he have said of the figment of apostolic succession, who so vehemently claimed that he was an apostle, "not from man, neither through man, but through Jesus Christ, and God the Father"? We do best to view the Church with Paul from the standpoint of the faith, hope, and love that are in Christ the Lord.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

IV. THE TRIAL OF JESUS.

WE shall now consider the report given by the fourth Evangelist of the Trial of Jesus. According to the Synoptists Jesus was tried before Caiaphas, the high priest, and afterwards before Pilate, and St. Luke mentions a quasi-

trial before Herod. The fourth Evangelist tells also of a previous examination of the Prisoner before Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas. It is difficult to see what motive could be suggested for the insertion of this notice of an examination before Annas unless it really took place. There is certainly nothing antecedently improbable in it, for it is well known that Annas wielded enormous influence, though he had long ago been deposed from the high-priesthood, now held by his son-in-law.

Exception has been taken to the statement of our Evangelist that Caiaphas was high priest *that year*. It has been said that this proves the writer to have been under the erroneous impression that the high-priesthood was a yearly office. This point is mentioned here by the way, and it must be left to the reader to judge whether such a mistake is at all probable in a writer who, it must be allowed, shows himself throughout well informed about, and thoroughly conversant with, Jewish matters and customs.

Returning to the examination of Jesus before Annas, we notice that it fits in remarkably well with the account given by St. Luke of the arrest and trial. For he tells how Jesus was taken from the place of His arrest to the high priest's house (*οἰκίαν*), and then a considerable interval elapsed, during which the three-fold denial of Peter occurred, before the meeting of the Sanhedrin, which is said to have taken place before it was day. There is then nothing at all impossible in the course of events in the Fourth Gospel. The Evangelist, like St. Luke, puts the denial of Peter before the trial before Caiaphas ; and the filling up of the interval of time between the arrest and the formal arraignment before the Sanhedrin by an informal examination by, or at any rate in the presence of, the influential Annas certainly seems highly probable. Whether this examination took place in the house of Annas or in the palace of the high priest

Caiaphas is a question which cannot be positively determined. For my own part I take it that it was held in the palace of Caiaphas, but the uncertainty arises from our inability to decide whether our Evangelist intends Annas or Caiaphas when he speaks of the high priest in xviii. 15 and 19. The title ἀρχιερεύς could be and certainly was applied to Annas after his deposition from the high-priesthood, and indeed the term is used with some elasticity, and we read of ἀρχιερεῖς, rendered by 'chief priests' in our English translation. But as in verse 13 the Evangelist says expressly that Caiaphas was high priest and he does not there apply any title to Annas, merely describing him as the father-in-law of Caiaphas, it seems most natural that when he immediately afterwards speaks of ὁ ἀρχιερεύς he should mean him who has been so designated, namely Caiaphas. On the other hand, if ὁ ἀρχιερεύς in verse 19 refers to Caiaphas, then the Evangelist records no examination made by Annas, and the questions put to Jesus respecting His doctrine came from Caiaphas. In this case the statement of verse 24, that Annas sent Jesus bound to Caiaphas, may seem wanting in point. But of course the examination, whether made by Annas himself or by Caiaphas in the presence of his father-in-law, was quite informal, and when Jesus is sent bound to Caiaphas the high priest (*v.* 24) it is that He may be formally arraigned before the Sanhedrin.

The matter is, however, not one of great importance. The statement made by our Evangelist that there was an informal examination made before the meeting of the Sandedrin is extremely probable, and we have seen that St. Luke's narrative leaves room for it, though he does not actually mention it. Moreover the statement of our Evangelist that this examination took place before Annas, if not by him, is also probable, considering the influence which he is known to have had. Indeed it seems to me that we have

here one of those touches which show the Evangelist to have been accurately informed. This of course he would be if he is to be identified with the other disciple (*v.* 15) who was known to the high priest.

The story of the denial of Peter, who accompanied this other disciple to the palace of the high priest, is told in our Gospel in such a circumstantial way that it is difficult to believe that it is other than historically correct. Like St. Luke, differing here from the other Synoptists, our Evangelist makes the denial take place before the meeting of the Sanhedrin. He tells us that the first of the three denials occurred as Peter entered into the palace of the high priest. 'The other disciple,' whom we take to be the fourth Evangelist, and who was known to the high priest, gained admission to the palace, and in view of the fact that he was no stranger he was able to persuade the portress to admit Peter. Nor was the question put by the portress to Peter, "Art thou also one of this man's disciples?" an unnatural one. Probably she knew John to be a disciple; hence the point of the word 'also.' But Peter, afraid, said, "I am not." Our Evangelist then tells us that Peter passed to the fire and stood and warmed himself with the servants and the officers, who had made a fire of coals, for it was cold. One who had himself experienced the cold of that night would naturally remember the fact.

The other two denials are placed by our Evangelist after the examination of Jesus respecting His disciples and His teaching, and the record of them follows immediately on the words: "Annas therefore sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest." Then, as Simon Peter stood and warmed himself, those who were with him questioned him: Art thou also one of his disciples? He denied, and said, I am not. Then one of the servants of the high priest being, the Evangelist tells us, a kinsman of

him whose ear Peter cut off, said, Did I not see thee in the garden with him ? Peter denied again : and straightway the cock crew.

It has been pointed out [1] that the statement made by St. Luke that on the third denial the Lord turned and looked upon Peter would find a simple explanation if the narrative of the Fourth Gospel be accurate, for, according to it, the last two of the three denials occurred as Jesus was being taken before Caiaphas. If then Peter denied Jesus just as He was being led past the place where Peter was, what more natural than that Jesus should have turned to look at him, and that that look should have brought tears of bitter sorrow into Peter's eyes ?

It may be noted, too, that St. Luke places an interval of about an hour between the first and second denials of Peter, and with this the narrative of the Fourth Gospel agrees, in that it implies that the examination took place in the meanwhile. Of course it is open to objectors to say that our Evangelist had St. Luke's Gospel to help him in the construction of his own, and therefore points of agreement prove nothing. But it is difficult to see how the Evangelist could have constructed his narrative about these matters with all its circumstantial detail if he had not been possessed of information more accurate and detailed than he could possibly glean from the other Gospels.

Our Evangelist tells us nothing of the trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrin, though we see that he knew of it from his statement that Jesus was sent bound to Caiaphas. It may seem idle to speculate why he is silent on this point, but it is probable that he had nothing to add to what the Synoptists had written about it, and moreover it contributed little to the ultimate condemnation of Jesus, which had to come from Pilate. The Evangelist has already

[1] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* in the article on "Annas."

described in brief and striking terms the attitude of the high priest by saying : " Caiaphas was he which gave counsel to the Jews that it was expedient that one man should die for the people." The trial before the Sanhedrin was no true trial at all. It was merely an attempt so to implicate Jesus that the counsel of Caiaphas might appear justified.

But when our Evangelist comes to tell the story of the arraignment before Pilate he gives very full information, and only the most obstinate prejudice will fail to see in this account a very accurate knowledge of what took place. We gain from St. John a far more exact idea of the stages by which Pilate was led on to consent to the death of Jesus than could ever be derived from the pages of the Synoptists ; Pilate is so set before us in this Gospel that we are constrained to acknowledge that here, even if nowhere else in the book, we have the picture of a historical reality. The only reasonable exception, as it seems to me, that can be taken to this part of the story of our Evangelist is that it says nothing of Pilate sending Jesus to Herod. But it is easily possible to combine the narratives of St. Luke and St. John so as to have a consistent whole.

Our Evangelist begins by stating that Jesus was led from Caiaphas into the Praetorium while it was early, and he explains the peculiar way in which the trial had to be conducted because the Jewish accusers refused to enter into the Praetorium, lest they should be defiled, and so might not eat the passover. Exception may be taken to this statement on the ground that the passover had already taken place. This is a point, however, the consideration of which we must defer until a later paper. I may say here in anticipation that I take the view that our Evangelist is right, and that the passover was to take place the next evening.

The prisoner then was within, and the accusers without, and Pilate has to conduct the case by passing from the one

to the others. He goes out therefore to ask the accusers what their accusation was. Instead of bringing a direct charge they reply evasively: "If this man were not an evil-doer, we should not have delivered him up unto thee." Now we know from the Synoptists that the Sanhedrin, after seeking to find some cause of death in Jesus, had at last found it in His confession of Messiahship, which they interpreted as blasphemy. Satisfied that for this He deserved to die, but unable to carry out the sentence themselves, they had come to Pilate, evidently hoping that he would consent. If, as we suppose, he had already allowed them the necessary band of soldiers to arrest Jesus, they may have interpreted this to mean his readiness to acquiesce in their verdict. But instead they find that Pilate requires a definite accusation, which they were not prepared for. In their opinion Jesus was an evil-doer; should not this suffice? Pilate then replies with some sarcasm that if he is not to decide the case but they, then judgment must proceed from them and not from him: "Take him yourselves and judge him according to your law." To which the Jews replied: "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." By their answer they showed to Pilate that it was a death sentence that they required and not an equitable judgment of the case according to Roman law. The Evangelist finds this incident worthy of record because, as he significantly adds, the inability of the Jews to put any man to death brought about the fulfilment of the word of Jesus which He had spoken, signifying what manner of death He should die. That Jesus had so spoken and foretold His crucifixion, the Synoptics plainly declare; so that our Evangelist cannot be accused of ascribing here undue foreknowledge to Jesus.

The Evangelist does not state that the accusers then preferred a case against the Prisoner, but it seems to be implied in the subsequent conduct of Pilate, who entered again into

the Praetorium and, calling Jesus, asked Him : " Art thou the king of the Jews ? " Jesus proceeds to inquire whether this is a charge brought against Him as to which He must defend Himself or whether it is an inquiry made by Pilate. He asks : " Sayest thou this of thyself, or did others tell it thee concerning me ? " Then comes Pilate's answer full of contempt and scorn for the Jew : " Am I a Jew ? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me : what hast thou done ? "

When then Jesus is informed that there is a charge laid against Him, He is ready to defend Himself, because this is obviously a matter as to which the Roman Governor has a right to an answer. He defends Himself, then, not by denying the charge, but by showing that it was misleading. " My kingdom is not of this world : if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews : but now is my kingdom not from hence."

Is He then guilty of the charge they have brought against Him ? Pilate asks Him : " Art thou a king then ? " Jesus answered : " Thou sayest that I am king. To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice." And Pilate asks : " What is truth ? "

But he sees clearly, whatever his attitude of mind towards Jesus and His claims to be a king, that this is no political case and that no criminal offence has been committed ; so he goes out again to the accusers and says : " I find no fault in him."

At this point the account given by St. Luke helps us. The accusers became more urgent, he says, and accused Jesus of stirring up the people, teaching throughout all Judaea and beginning from Galilee even to Jerusalem. Pilate,

learning that the prisoner was a Galilean, sends him to Herod, who was at that time in Jerusalem. But Herod could get no answer to the questions he put to the prisoner, and sent him back to Pilate arrayed in a splendid robe. Neither did he find any fault in Him touching the things whereof He was accused.

Of all this our Evangelist says nothing. Nor from his point of view was there any need to mention it, for matters stood after the visit to Herod exactly as they did before. Pilate is in the same position now as then. He can find no fault or crime in the Prisoner. But at this point he shows signs of weakness. He wishes to please the Jews, and so he offers to release Jesus as a political prisoner. It may seem strange that when the accusers had so plainly shown that it was the death of Jesus which they desired, Pilate should have sought to satisfy them by setting Him free. This is a trait in the story which increases our confidence in the truth of it. Pilate does not propose simply to release Jesus, but to release Him as a political offender in honour of the feast and according to custom. But the accusers would have none of it. That would have been to frustrate their whole design. They demanded instead the release of the robber Barabbas.

Then Pilate, still exhibiting cowardly weakness, has Jesus scourged, hoping apparently that by thus disgracing Him in the eyes of the accusers he will satisfy their malice, and be able to spare his own conscience the guilt of the death of an innocent man. The soldiers platted a crown of thorns and put it on Jesus' head and arrayed Him in a purple garment —possibly the same as that in which Herod had clothed Him [1]

[1] There is an interesting article in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1909, by Dr. A. W. Verrall on "Christ before Herod." I do not find myself in agreement with the writer when he argues that Herod's conduct, described in the original as ἐμπαίξας περιβαλὼν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν αὐτὸν, was not intended as a piece of mockery. It seems to me that ἐμπαίξας

—and after they had mocked Him, Pilate went out once more, still protesting that he could find no crime in the man, and exhibiting Jesus wearing the crown of thorns and the purple garment. To their pity he appeals, and possibly also to their sense of humour, which he hopes may enable them to see the absurdity of the charge they have brought against Jesus. But to Pilate's words, "Behold the man," they reply with shouts: "Crucify him, crucify him." If this is what they want, Pilate says, let them do it themselves. "Take ye him and crucify him, for I find no crime in him."

Then, and not till then, did the accusers bring forward the charge on which they had already in the Sanhedrin declared Jesus to be worthy of death: "We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." And when Pilate heard this he was the more afraid, and he entered into the Praetorium again and asked Jesus, "Whence art thou?" But Jesus gave him no answer. He refused to be questioned by Pilate, except so far as the questions arose out of definite charges of which Roman law required Pilate to take account. And Pilate said unto Him: "Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not that I have authority to release thee, and have authority to crucify thee?" To which Jesus replied: "Thou wouldest have no authority against me except it were given thee from above; therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath greater sin." Hereupon Pilate sought to release Jesus, but the Jews, detecting the weakness Pilate had already shown, proceed to work upon his fears: "If thou release this man, thou art not Caesar's friend: every one that maketh himself a king speaketh against Caesar." And they were successful. Pilate brought Jesus forth, and took his place on a judgment

cannot be separated from περιβαλών as Dr. Verrall's interpretation of the passage requires. Herod mockingly threw round Jesus a splendid robe and sent Him to Pilate. This seems the natural meaning of the passage.

seat at a place which the Evangelist, with his usual particularity of statement, says was called the Pavement, and in Hebrew Gabbatha. His final appeal, "Behold your king!" and "Shall I crucify your king?" met only with the response from the chief priests: "We have no king but Caesar." And he delivered Jesus to be crucified.

We cannot say what is the point intended by the Evangelist in mentioning that, when Pilate took his place on the judgment seat, it was the preparation of the passover, and it was the sixth hour. Did he intend to indicate that time was pressing and that this business must be got over before the feast? It may be so, but the sixth hour, supposing this to mean six o'clock according to our reckoning, that is six hours from midnight, could not be considered late. Or could it be that, regarding Jesus as the true paschal lamb, as his words in xix. 36 show him to have done, he saw the fitness of this day and hour for the sentence of death now passed upon Him? Or was there something in the outward appearance of the city at this moment which directed attention to the character of the day, and was the hour impressed on the mind of the Evangelist by his experience of the event? Or did he feel that the day and hour of this decision, so momentous in the history of the world, deserved to be chronicled? These are questions that we cannot answer.

E. H. Askwith.

THE CHRIST OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

II.

In a previous paper reference was made to the religious element in the Personality of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, as an indication that, in one important aspect of his thought at least, the Evangelist regards himself as dealing with a human Personality. We have spoken of Jesus' use of

Prayer, and we may now regard another conception that occupies a central place in the thought of Jesus with relation to God, viz., (2) *His Oneness with the Father.* In this connexion we may turn in the first place to the prayer in chapter xvii. It is very significant for the true understanding of this conception of Unity with God, that the clearest and fullest statement of it is to be found in a Prayer of Jesus. We presuppose that this evangelist, in chapter xvii., is giving us in essence the actual religious attitude of Jesus. 'Oneness' with the Father is the central idea of this 'High-Priestly' Prayer. It is a gift granted and maintained in answer to prayer. "The glory which thou gavest me, I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one." "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." "And the glory which thou hast given me, I have given unto them, that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one; that the world may know that thou didst send me, and lovedst them, even as thou lovedst me" (xvii. 21–23).

The fact that unity with God is the central thought of this prayer is noteworthy, as against the purely dogmatic interpretation of this element in the consciousness of the Johannine Christ. It suggests that this unity is, in the mind of the Evangelist, much more ethical than metaphysical or theological. The real content of this unity is a union of will, together with a distinct subordination of Jesus to the Father. It is also very full of meaning that the unity of Jesus with God, and the unity of the believer with God, are regarded as comparable entities, and the love of God for Jesus and His love for men are also set side by side for purposes of comparison (cf. xvii. 11, 23). The unity of Jesus

with God is not regarded by the evangelist from the metaphysical point of view at all. What corresponds to the metaphysical idea in his mind is the presupposition on which his whole conception rests, viz., "The Word became flesh." That unity, in human form, represents a steady, unbroken undercurrent of prayerful communion with the Father in the Personality of Jesus, which comes to the surface in the prayer at the grave of Lazarus, "I knew that thou listenest to me always; but because of the people which stand by I *spake*, that they may believe that thou hast sent me." It is necessary that the prayer should be uttered, in order to impress the bystanders with the fact that the miracle is accomplished by power delegated to Him from the Father. It is also instructive to note the use of the neuter ἕν in the statement of x. 30: "I and my Father are one." As Dr. Denney says, "Jesus and the Father constitute one power, by which the salvation of man is secured" (*Jesus and the Gospel*, p. 93). Such a unity, and not a Christological dogma, Jesus is represented as expounding and defending in the discourses.

Let us pursue this subject a little further. There are two direct statements of Jesus in the Gospel as to His unity with the Father. One is found in x. 30, already quoted. The other is implied in v. 18: "He . . . said also that God was his Father, making himself equal with God." Both utterances give rise to discussion with opponents, and it is of great interest to notice how the thought is expanded in both cases. In both, strong objection is made by opponents of Jesus to the claim put forward. How is this met?

(1) In x. 33 the Jews accuse Jesus of blasphemy, "because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God."[1] Jesus

[1] It is not disputed that in the minds of opponents all through the Gospel the objection is to an incipient Christological dogma, and it is not denied that rudimentary theories about the Person of Christ may have occupied the minds of His followers at the time the Gospel was written.

answered them, "Is it not written in your law, I said, ye are gods? If he called them gods unto whom the word of God came, and the scripture cannot be broken; say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?" (verses 34–36). The reference in Psalm lxxxii., which is quoted, is to divinely commissioned authorities, who are nevertheless failing in their duty. If these, with all their imperfections, can still be regarded as representing God to the nation, how much more He who perfectly did the will of the Father. "If I do not the work of my Father, believe me not" (v. 37). Westcott says, on these verses, "The Lord therefore shows in His answer that even in the Old Testament there was a preparation for that union of God and man which He came to complete." Surely, however, the weight of the argument rests not on the idea of a preparation for the Incarnation in the Old Testament, but on the fact that the human Jesus claims for Himself the title "God," or "Son of God," in the fullest sense of the ancient theocratic idea, and as the only complete Representative of it. Jesus alone perfectly does the will of God, and has, therefore, *par excellence* a right to the title.

We do not, of course, deny that the Evangelist gives to Christ that place which He occupies in the traditional Christian consciousness, but it is interesting to note that, according to his interpretation of the mind of Jesus, the

At the same time, is it not precisely this purely theoretical point of view that is combatted all through the Gospel? May we not detect uncompromising opposition to the application of current philosophical ideas to the Person of Christ, to the detriment of the real human Personality of Jesus of Nazareth, in the opening statement of the Prologue, "The Word became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory"? The modern "Religionsgeschichtliche" school lay great stress on the fact that there was already existent in the time of Christ a considerable body of speculative doctrine about the Person of the Messiah. (Cf. *Christus*, by D. Johannes Weiss; *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*, 1909.)

defence of the position lies along ethical and spiritual, and not purely philosophical or theological lines. The argument is based on the impression and the claims of the Historic Person. It is a defence possible only to one who has a clear conception of the human Jesus, and is concerned to prove that " Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God " (xx. 31).

(2) We may now consider the passage v. 18 ff., in which it is implied in the objection of His opponents, that Jesus made Himself " equal with God." In verse 19 the real content of the Unity with God is explained. On the one hand, the Son is in a position of subordination to the Father, so far as His earthly ministry is concerned : " The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do " ; and on the other, the will of the Son is in complete accord with the will of the Father, and there is no sense of compulsion or inward struggle arising from other and contrary instincts or desires : " What things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise." The basal fact on which the whole relationship rests is that, " the Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things that himself doeth " (v. 20). Even expositors of the school of Westcott have recognised that the theological question of the Incarnation has no real place in the argument here. " The Son is regarded as ' sent ' (*vv.* 23 f.), and therefore as Incarnate. But this idea lies in the background here, where the immediate point is the justification of the statement in v. 17 from the essential relation of the Son to the Father. The argument is conducted by the Lord, without a direct personal reference to Himself, *in such a way as to arrest the attention of the Jews, and not to drive them away at once.* Perfect Sonship involves perfect identity of will and action with the Father." The words that have been put in italics seem to indicate that Westcott looks on the argument as in itself incomplete, regarded as a reply to the objection that Jesus made

Himself equal with God. It is also presupposed that the 'equality' of Jesus with God implies a definite and dogmatic position as to the Person of Jesus, corresponding to the position adopted in the later thought of the Christian Church, and that the argument of Jesus in this passage is an 'accommodation' to the understanding of his opponents.

It is extremely important to note the fact, admitted by Westcott, that the argument is not a complete or direct reply to the objection of the Jews. The objection is stated in the words, *πατέρα ἴδιον ἔλεγεν τὸν θεόν, ἴσον ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν τῷ θεῷ. ἴσον τῷ θεῷ* may be compared with *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ* of Philippians ii. 6. Lightfoot in his Commentary on Philippians *in loco* says: "Between the two expressions *ἴσος εἶναι* and *ἴσα εἶναι* no other distinction can be drawn, except that the former refers rather to the *person*, the latter to the *attributes*. In the present instance *ἴσα θεῷ* expresses better the Catholic doctrine of the Person of Christ than *ἴσος θεῷ*; for the latter would seem to divide the Godhead. It is not the statement of the Lord Himself, or of the Evangelist, but the complaint of the Jews that He "made Himself *ἴσον τῷ θεῷ*." There can be no doubt that the monotheistic Jews in this passage are represented as shocked at the idea of a division in the Godhead, implied in *ἴσον τῷ θεῷ*. Jesus called God "his own Father," His Father in a sense different from all other men. The purpose of the argument in verses 19 ff. is not so much to meet the objection, as to change the point of view. The interest is not theological but ethical. The thought changes from *ἴσον* to *ἴσα τῷ θεῷ*. It is significant in view of the supposed metaphysical and theological bias of the Evangelist's mind that *ἴσον τῷ θεῷ* occurs in the language of opponents, and he is really seeking to justify and to make his own the statement of our Lord in v. 17: "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." It

would be outside the range of the present paper to consider in detail verses 21–29. It is sufficient to say that in loftiness and scope of thought, as centring in our Lord's Person, they do not go beyond the thought of Matthew xi. 25–27 or Luke xiii. 27, and Matthew xxv. 31–46.

It has been said that "The words (of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel) are concerned almost wholly with the assertion, under many different types and forms, of the divine character of the Speaker Himself" (E. F. Scott, op. cit., p. 171). There can be no doubt that a very preponderating position is given in the thought of the Fourth Gospel to the Person of Jesus, and that both His words and His actions are used to convey as emphatically as possible the secret of His Personality. On the other hand, what has already been said ought to be enough to show how far the impression of the claims of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is separated from the conception of an unearthly and superhuman Personality. In the consciousness of Jesus, the mere Logos idea has no place. The prevailing note in His attitude towards God is dependence. "I can of myself do nothing" (v. 30). "I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not." "If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive" (v. 43). How often in this Gospel is Jesus represented as really and actually in the human state, as the "Word" become "flesh." "The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified" (vii. 39). "These things understood not his disciples at the first; but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him" (xii. 16).

R. H. Strachan.

(To be continued.)

THE PASSOVER AND THE DAYS OF THE UNLEAVENED BREAD.

THE many questions that are connected with this feast were frequently discussed but are not yet settled. There is something puzzling in nearly every religious feast, and the numerous different opinions about the original meaning of the Passover and the days of the unleavened bread prove that this feast is not to be excepted from the general rule. Most feasts of the so-called universal religions are transplanted from heathendom into the sphere of these religions. The student of the history of religion discovers many survivals of primitive religion in the feasts, for instance, of Christendom, but he is not always able to discern the original meaning of these survivals. The student of the religion of Israel very often is in the same condition. He clearly sees that there is something behind the feast he finds in the list of feasts that were to be celebrated every year by the worshippers of Jahve, but he not always finds out what it really is.

The various theories about the feast of the Passover and the unleavened bread bear testimony to the fact that the explanation of this feast still belongs to the realm of conjecture. Many scholars assume that the Passover and the days of the unleavened bread were two separate feasts (Benzinger), others maintain that they were two parts of one feast (Robertson Smith). The sacrifice of the Passover was explained as the offering of the firstlings of the herd (Robertson Smith, Wellhausen and others); as a propitiatory sacrifice that was offered as a substitution for the human male firstborn (Kuenen); as the sacrifice offered on the night of the passage of the sun through the equinoctial point (Vatke); as the lamb slaughtered at the ritual dances of the Hebrew spring-festival (Toy); as a sacrifice

in times of pestilence in order to protect the house (Marti); as the means by which the Israelites protected themselves from the destroying influence of the planet Mars (Benzinger), or from the evil spirits (Oort); as a sacrifice to the memory of the Exodus (Green and others). I know that this list is not exhaustive, but it is certainly sufficient proof that the original meaning of this feast is still an open question.

We do not meet with so many different theories if we study the literature about the days of the unleavened bread, but also here scholars disagree.

Wellhausen assumed that the unleavened bread was an offering of the corn of the new harvest. When the first sheaves were being reaped people did not take time to wait for the leavening of the dough. Therefore they baked unleavened bread. This presumably is the opinion that is prevalent among scholars. Another theory is defended by Holzinger. He supposes the unleavened bread to be the usual food of the Bedouins. In the desert the nomadic tribes were used to eat this bread, afterwards they kept up the custom of eating it at religious ceremonies.

In the following pages I will try to show that Passover and the days of the unleavened bread originally are two independent feasts;

That Passover is the sacrifice by which the house is protected against the evil influences of the full moon in March;

That the days of the unleavened bread are to be explained by the primitive animistic conception of the growth of corn.

I.

The oldest list of Israelitic feasts is Exodus xxiii. 14 sqq. In the EXPOSITOR of July, August and September, 1909, I argued that this list belongs to the Mosaic period. In this list the feast of the unleavened bread is mentioned, but Passover is not found among the yearly festivals (xxiii.

15). "The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep, seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread."

Exodus xiii. contains a legislation about the days of the unleavened bread (*vv.* 3–10) and the offering of the firstborn (*vv.* 11–16). There is no mention of passover, in this chapter.

This cannot be explained if we would assume with Robertson Smith and Holzinger that Passover and the days of the unleavened bread were parts of one festival, for the command, "Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread," by no means implies the sacrifice of the Passover. If the legislation about the offering of the firstborn (that is mentioned in Exodus xiii. in connexion with the days of the unleavened bread) had anything to do with the Passover, there certainly would be an allusion to this feast.

Exodus xiii. is a piece of pre-exilic legislation that is older than Deuteronomy, and probably is to be assigned to the ninth or beginning of the eighth century (cf. *Alttestamentliche Studien*, iii.).

In another list of pre-exilic origin (Lev. xxiii. 5–6) Pesach and the days of the unleavened bread both are mentioned. There is no other connexion between them than that of time. Passover is celebrated on the 14th of Nisan, the feast of the unleavened bread on the 15th. They are mentioned as two separate festivals. In exactly the same way the feasts are mentioned in Numbers xxviii. 16–19, the list of offerings for the various holy days of the kalendar.

The post-exilic copy of Exodus xxiii. 14 sqq., Exodus xxxiv. 18 sqq., mentions Passover. Nevertheless it does not combine Passover with the days of the unleavened bread, but only alludes to the existence of this feast in another part of the text (*v.* 25).

Exodus xii. 1–14 (according to our opinion also a piece of pre-exilic origin and not of P) deals with Passover.

There is no allusion in these verses to the days of the unleavened bread. The command to eat the lamb with unleavened bread does not contain any reference to the religious duty of eating this bread for seven days. The verses xii. 15–20 prescribe the celebration of the days of the unleavened bread. They are inconsistent with the situation of the Exodus and evidently are a younger addition to the text.

So it can hardly be doubtful that the various legislations of the pre-exilic period agree in separating Passover and the days of the unleavened bread.

In Deuteronomy, however, we find the two feasts conflated into one. "Observe the month Abib, and keep the Passover . . . Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread therewith" (xvi. 1–3). Even here we see that Deuteronomy combines the two feasts in an artificial way. The days of the unleavened bread lasted seven days. The feast of the Passover was a feast of one night. Now xvi. 5–6 commands to sacrifice the passover at Jerusalem and to return home in the morning after the offering of the Passover, that is on the morning of the first day of the unleavened bread. Now it is very improbable that it was usual to travel on this day, for Leviticus xxiii. 7 calls the first day a day of holy convocation. Deuteronomy tries to conflate the two feasts, for it centralizes all religious feasts in Jerusalem. It could not possibly oblige the Israelites to stay for seven days in Jerusalem, as the barley harvest was waiting to be reaped. So even in the harmonising conflation of Deuteronomy the independent character of the two feasts comes to light.

In the post-exilic period the feasts practically were celebrated as one feast, for which the names Passover and days of the unleavened bread were alternately used

(2 Chron. xxx. 5). Hezekiah sent letters to the various tribes, that they should come to keep the Passover . . . (*v.* 13), and there assembled at Jerusalem much people to keep the feast of the unleavened bread. Flavius Josephus mentions (*Antiq.*, lib. ix. 13, 3 and lib. x. 4, 5) the feast of the unleavened bread, that is called Passover. Matthew xxvi. 17 also identifies the two feasts. "On the first day of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, saying, Where wilt thou that we make ready for thee to eat the passover?" From this it is evident that the attempt of the Deuteronomic legislation to combine the two feasts into one has been successful. The fact that the Passover was to be eaten with unleavened bread was in favour of the conflation of the two feasts.

Yet it is certain that the feasts originally were independent of one another, for not only do the old Israelitic laws bear testimony to this, but also the fact that the feasts were not celebrated by the same people. Not everybody in Israel was allowed to eat the Passover. The celebration of this feast was confined to the Israelites and those strangers that were circumcised. "No uncircumcised person shall eat thereof" (Exod. xii. 43–50). The eating of unleavened bread, however, was compulsory for all people within the boundary of Canaan (Exod. xii. 19). "Whosoever eateth that which is leavened, that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a sojourner or one that is born in the land." "There shall be no leaven seen with thee, in all thy borders" (Exod. xiii. 7; Deut. xvi. 4). This difference cannot be explained if we would agree with those who hold the theory that Passover and the days of the unleavened bread are one feast. In our present investigation into the origin of these feasts, therefore, we shall discuss each of them separately.

II.

Passover is celebrated on the 14th of Nisan. The lamb is slaughtered at the end of the 14th at sunset and it is eaten in the night of the 15th, the new day beginning after the setting of the sun. It is generally accepted that in the pre-exilic period no fixed date was prescribed. It is supposed to be one of the proofs for the later origin of the legislation dealing with the Passover that a date for this feast is prescribed. No date is mentioned in Deuteronomy (chap. xvi.), but Leviticus xxiii. 5, Exodus xii. 1 sqq., Numbers xxviii. 16 seq. command to keep the feast on the 14th of Nisan.

Obviously the origin of Passover cannot be discussed without entering into the question whether the fixed date is an innovation or not. The theory that Passover is the feast of the offering of the firstlings of the herd, for instance, admits no fixed date, so we are obliged to enter into some detail of the critical analysis.

Exodus xii. 1–14 is supposed to be of post-exilic origin and is assigned to P. If we compare these verses to the post-exilic rites of Passover, as known from Ezra vi. and 2 Chronicles xxx. and xxxv., we discover that these are different from the rites mentioned in Exodus xii. Consequently it is very improbable that Exodus xii. 1–14 is to be assigned to the post-exilic period. The Passover is slaughtered by the head of the family in Exodus xii. 4–6, but in 2 Chronicles xxxv. 10 sqq., Ezra vi. 20 it is killed by the Levites. Exodus xii. supposes that it is sacrificed at the door of the house (*v.* 7, cf. *v.* 22, where it is killed on the threshold, בסף); in the post-exilic period it is sacrificed in the temple. In Exodus xii. the lamb is roasted; *v.* 9 forbids to seethe it; 2 Chronicles xxxv. it is "sodden in the fire." This expression seems to harmonise with the command of Deuteronomy to seethe the sacrifice (Deut. xvi. 7) and the command of

Exodus xii. 8 to roast it. If Exodus xii. is post-exilic, we expect that 2 Chronicles xxxv. would have used the expression of this chapter. The meat of the ordinary sacrifices was sodden, consequently Deuteronomy used this term for the way of preparing the Passover, for it wanted to reform the Passover into a regular sacrifice as was done in the Jerusalem temple. We only understand the harmonising term of 2 Chronicles if we assume that this part of the reformation of Deuteronomy was a failure. In the post-exilic period the lamb was still roasted, but in deference to Deuteronomy this was not called "to roast" (Exod. xii. 8), but "to seethe in the fire." The only reference to the post-exilic period in Exodus xii. 1–14 is verse 2, which mentions the post-exilic calendar. But this verse separates verse 3 from verse 1 and is admittedly a later addition to the text (cf., for instance, Bäntsch, *Exodus*, p. 89).

If we are compelled to assume that Exodus xii. is of pre-exilic origin, it must be assigned to the pre-Deuteronomic period. If it had been written in the exile, it would have alluded to the temple or the Ohel Moed as the proper place for killing the Passover. Now we can only admit that the chapter is not aware of the Deuteronomistic reformation of the feast. This implies that a pre-Deuteronomic legislation prescribed a fixed date for the keeping of the Passover.

For this reason it is not probable that those theories about the origin of the feast are right, that suppose that it was not kept regularly every year nor at the same date of the year. According to Kuenen (*Godsd. v. Isr.*, i. p. 501) every father brought a sacrifice to Jahve on the eighth day after the birth of his firstborn son. We do not see how this sacrifice could become a yearly festival; for even if the Israelite had several wives, he could only bring such sacrifices a few times in his life, and it is perfectly unin-

telligible how this feast was celebrated every year at the same date, without any connexion with the real birthday of the persons to be redeemed by the sacrifice.

Wellhausen's presumption that Passover is the festival of the firstlings of the herd cannot be admitted. There is not the least reference in the legislation about the firstlings to Passover, nor in the legislation about Passover to the firstlings. Moreover, the Passover is not offered to Jahve, but it is eaten by the Hebrew family, and not a bit of it is to be left or to be sent out of the house (Exod. xii. 43 sqq.). The firstborn son, however, is to be redeemed with a lamb that is to be given unto Jahve, and the firstborn animals are also to be given unto Jahve (Exod. xxii. 28 seq.; xiii. 11 seq.; xxxiv. 19 seq.; Num. xviii. 14). This does not mean that the blood is sprinked on the sideposts of the door, nor that the whole of the lamb is eaten by the Israelites, and that nothing of the whole animal is offered to Jahve.

The fixed date is not in agreement with Professor Marti's theory, that among the ancient nomad Hebrews the practice existed of sprinkling the door-posts with the blood of a sheep for protection against pestilence. Here it remains unexplained how this practice became fixed. Marti was perfectly right in observing that the blood of the Passover is to protect the house against some evil, but if this practice is a regular one, the danger must also be a regular one. We do not see how the Israelites could protect themselves against pestilence, or some other evil of that kind, by eating the Passover always at the same date, when there was not the least danger of pestilence or any other sickness.

Pesach, passover, means "to pass," "to spare." It cannot be proved that the verb means to dance. Pisseah means "to have a limp," and there is no evidence that a certain ritual "limping" was practised at the Passover. The theory of Professor Toy is therefore not very probable (cf.

p. 448). The mysterious character of the sacrifice remains also unexplained.

The Israelitic tradition has connected this with the Exodus. Jahve will pass over the houses of the Israelites (Exod. xii. 13, 23). Obviously this is a later interpretation of the feast by the worshippers of Jahve. The oldest tradition we find in Exodus xii. does not mention the Passover. Exodus xii. 29–34 describes the Exodus and is inconsistent with the celebration of the Passover. In Exodus xii. 22 none is permitted to leave the house before day-break; verse 31, Moses and Aaron are called by Pharaoh in the night and the Israelites leave at once during the night. They have not yet eaten unleavened bread, as was commanded in verse 8. The unleavened bread they ate afterwards was explained by the fact that they were in great haste and had to take their dough before it was leavened. Verse 29 continues Exodus xi. 4–8. There can be no doubt that the original form of Exodus xii. was written before the Passover was interpreted as a commemoration of the Exodus. We therefore easily understand that the oldest legislation in Exodus xxiii. does not mention the Passover. It cannot be explained why this feast is not classed among the annual festivals if it originally was a commemoration of the Exodus.

Exodus xii. 42 calls the Passover a ליל שמרים, that is, a night of waking (not a night much to be observed, as the Revised Version translates). This implies that the night of Passover was regarded to be dangerous. It was not safe to sleep. Even now the Passover is celebrated by the Jews by telling stories and singing songs until very late hours. If anybody falls asleep, he is to be awakened (Schröder, *Religiöse Gebräuche des Judentums*, p. 189 sqq.).

It has been rightly suggested by Benzinger that the rites of the Passover must be connected in some way with

the date of the festival. The critical analysis of the school of Wellhausen has obscured this fact by assigning the pre-exilic legislation on the Passover to the priestly author.

The suggestion of Vatke, that Passover originally was the night of the passage of the sun through the equinoctial point, points in the same direction. We do not understand, however, why the 14th of Nisan was fixed for this passing, which took place on various dates of the old Hebrew year. The fact that the sacrifice is killed at sunset and eaten during the night seems not to be in favour of the theory that the festival has anything to do with the sun.

The 14th of Nisan is the date of the full moon in the days of the spring equinox. Benzinger suggests (*Archaeology*, ii. p. 393) that it was believed that Mars would kill the cattle on this night. Neither in the Old Testament nor in the Assyrian religion is there any proof for the soundness of this theory, for no allusion is made to Mars or any other star in any chapter dealing with the Passover. All we know is (1) that this night was regarded as very dangerous, not for cattle but for men. Therefore the house was protected by the sprinkling of the blood on the doorpost. Nobody was allowed to leave the house during the whole night (Exod. xii. 22), no part of the Passover was to be brought out of the house. The lamb was slain at sunset. From this it is evident that the dangerous time began with the setting of the sun and ended at daybreak. (2) That this danger is connected with the full moon. The full moon of Pesach is alluded to in Psalm lxxxi. 4 ("Blow the trumpet at the full moon, on our solemn feast day"; cf. v. 4 seq., which refer to the Exodus).

Superstitious opinions about the influence of the moon have always been very common in Israel. Even at the present day the Jews have to salute the new moon by addressing it as soon as they see it. We do not know

for what reason the night of the full moon of March was considered to be exceedingly dangerous. Perhaps this reason was already forgotten in the pre-exilic period as the worshippers of Jahve interpreted this " night of waking " as a commemoration of the Exodus.

III.

The common interpretation of the days of the unleavened bread has connected this feast with the harvest. The theory of Holzinger, that the unleavened bread is to be regarded as a survival of the former nomad life, has not many supporters. Most scholars feel convinced that Passover and the days of the unleavened bread are two separate feasts. For this reason Holzinger's theory is impossible. It is, moreover, not at all probable that the usual food of the Bedouins once consisted of unleavened bread (ash cakes). The burghul that is prepared with leavened meal at the present time is very common among the Bedouins. Furthermore, the nomad life cannot help in the solution of the puzzle of the Passover, for the good reason that the Israelites never were pure Bedouins.

Therefore it seems justifiable to connect the days of the unleavened bread with the agricultural life and the reaping of the barley in the spring. Here, however, we meet some difficulties which are not explained by the present interpretation of the feast and are generally overlooked.

During the days of the unleavened bread " no leaven shall be seen with thee in all thy borders " (Exod. xiii. 6, 7 ; Deut. xvi. 4 ; Exod. xii. 15–18). This is not the same command as " thou shalt not eat leavened bread." On the first day of the feast " ye shall put away leaven out of your houses." What is the meaning of this ? A most thorough search is made by ritual Jews of later days for every small piece of bread they might find in the corners

of the cupboards or rooms, and this had evidently been done as early as the time of Exodus xiii. 6, 7. This question is not answered by the common interpretation.

It is generally accepted that unleavened bread was the favourite food during the harvest. People did not take time to wait for the slow process of leavening the dough. But if this is true, how can we explain the astonishing fact that the unleavened bread was not baked from new harvest, but from the meal of the harvest of the last year? We know from the Mischna that this was done not as an exception, but as a rule (Pesachim, ii. 5). So it is impossible to agree with the interpretation of the unleavened bread as given by Wellhausen and others.

Obviously it was necessary to bake the unleavened bread from meal of the former harvest. It was not permissible to eat anything of the new harvest before the sheaf was offered to Jahve (Lev. xxiii. 14). This was not done before the 16th of Nisan, so it would have been impossible to eat bread on the 15th, if this bread was to be prepared from barley of the new harvest, as is suggested by Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, iii. p. 88).

On the other hand, it is beyond doubt that the days of the unleavened bread are a harvest festival. Deuteronomy xvi. 9 says that on the first of these days the sickle was put into the standing corn.

We at once see the meaning of these days if we bear in mind the conception of primitive mankind about the growth of the crops. Everywhere we find the belief that all living things have "a soul," a "living power," within them. If this power leaves men, animals or plants, they die. Every plant contains a living soul, and cutting of the plant, that is killing the plant, is an attack on this soul. Now the harvest of the year to come depends upon the corn that is reaped this year. If it is not sown, there

will be no harvest; and if it is sown and it does not grow, there will be no harvest or a very poor one. Consequently we find everywhere in the world the survival of old harvest customs, which aim at protecting the soul of the corn of the harvest of this year for the seed of the year to come.

According to A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. p. 301, the present Moabite fellah buries the last sheaf of his harvest in the field.

We know from Assyrian and Egyptian texts that the old Semites had the same conception of the growth of the corn, etc., as primitive mankind holds in our days. In the cuneiform inscriptions the corn, palms, etc., are determined as "god," that is, they are written with the determinative sign "god." On several occasions we find small altars standing in the threshingfloor of the Egyptians (A. Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 575). We may assume that also the old Hebrews must have had the same ideas about the growth of plants. It is beyond doubt that sacred trees were of much importance among them (Gen. xxi. 33, etc.), so it is highly probable that they may have also practised harvest customs of the same kind as are met with all over the world. Some customs of the population of the Dutch Indies seem to be very helpful for the understanding of this old Hebrew harvest festival.

The great thing during the harvest is to prevent the soul of the corn from flying away. Therefore the present Moabite fellah does not measure his harvest without the utmost care. He covers his mouth with a bandage, nobody is allowed to speak, otherwise the "blessing" might fly away. Whistling, too, is forbidden. Every time that some sacks are transported to the barn, some greens are placed on the ground of the field, that the blessing may not be frightened (Musil, l.c., p. 305).

During the harvest of the rice in the Dutch Indies it

is not allowed to cook rice on or near the fields, where the harvest is reaped (A. C. Kruyt, "De Rijstmoeder in den Indischen Archipel," *Communications of the Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam*, iv. 5, p. 363 sqq.), nor is it allowed to do anything that might frighten the soul of the rice. If the soul of the plant knows that the corn is to be killed, to be cooked or baked in order to be eaten, it might fly away. Indecent language, too, might frighten the soul of the rice. A sheaf of the rice is brought home, some food and water are offered to the soul of the rice. In the next year the grains of this sheaf are mixed with the grains that are sown. One of the essential things is to confine the soul of the plants that are reaped within a single sheaf, in order to be able to eat the rest of the harvest without danger for the harvest of next year.

Obviously the leavening of the meal is a kind of putrefaction. Leavened bread, therefore, is not "clean." It is not allowed to offer the blood of a sacrifice to Jahve with leavened bread. In the same way the unclean leavened bread might frighten the soul of the newly reaped barley, and we understand that the use of leavened bread was to be avoided in the days of the harvest. Unleavened bread or roast corn (Josh. v. 11) was only permitted.

If we assume that the unclean character of leavened bread is the reason of this so-called feast, it is easily understood that not only the Israelites but that everybody within the boundary of Israel had to avoid the leaven. And it also becomes perspicuous why "there shall no leaven be seen with thee, in all thy borders." The "blessing" of the coming harvest is endangered by any leaven, to whomsoever it might belong.

The barley ripens in the spring. Of course the date of the days of the unleavened bread originally depended upon the time the barley was ready for being reaped.

Exodus xxiii., therefore, does not mention "a fixed date"; nor does Deuteronomy do so. For this reason Deuteronomy could not give a date for Passover, this feast being regarded as the beginning of the days of unleavened bread. Afterwards, however, the conflation of Passover and these days bound the official harvest feast to a fixed date, the 15th of Nisan. Passover was connected with the full moon and could not be removed.

The days of the unleavened bread were a feast in honour of Jahve, not by the unleavened bread, but by the sheaf that was offered to Jahve (Lev. xxiii. 10 sqq.). The custom of eating unleavened bread may have been much older than the Jahvistic religion. In the pre-exilic period the old customs of Passover and of the unleavened bread were sanctified by the priests of Jahve by transplanting the old rites into the sphere of the Jahvistic religion.

B. D. Eerdmans.

THE DEPENDENCE OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY UPON NON-JEWISH RELIGIONS.

The idea that early Christianity was in some respects influenced by extra-Jewish religions is repugnant to some even now. It is held that Christianity would be depreciated by such a contact. But evidently, this would only be the case provided that all other religions are false religions and that Christianity, therefore, if dependent on them, would to this extent be proved false too. Now, it is true that former generations sometimes regarded these other religions in this way; but the more enlightened have always observed that there were at least some glimpses of the truth beyond Christianity. The last prophet of the Old Testament proclaimed: "from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same *my* name is great among

the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered unto *my* name, and a pure offering; for *my* name is great among the Gentiles, saith Jehovah of hosts." And Paul says of the heathen: "that which is knowable of God is known to them, for God manifested it to them; for the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity." If this is our attitude to these non-Jewish religions, then we need, of course, not hesitate to assume that they to some degree influenced Christianity; for what must be derived from them is not for this very reason necessarily false, but may be as true as if first seen or proclaimed by Christ or any of His followers.

Indeed, Israel and the Christian Church did not live on an island isolated from all other countries, but rather in the midst of other nations that controlled it. Hence the Jewish and the Christian Church could hardly help being influenced by their environment. Nevertheless, these influences were for the first time studied only by the deistic writers of the eighteenth century, from whom the rationalistic theologians as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century learned. The later theological schools took no interest in these problems. It is only in recent times that they have been examined anew. Germans, Dutchmen, Swedes, Englishmen and Americans have co-operated for this purpose, and especially in my fatherland no other problem has been so eagerly studied during these last five or six years as the dependence of early Christianity upon non-Jewish religions.

Unfortunately, however, very often a few general rules have been eliminated from the consideration. Without the observation of these no ultimate results can be attained. In the first place, we ought never to assume that Christian ideas have been borrowed from another religion until

we have done our best to explain them from Christian, or at least Jewish principles. For it is, of course, the most natural assumption that they depend upon these, and if this can be proved, then all other explanations are air-castles. But even if we do not succeed in explaining a Christian idea or institution on the basis of Christian or Jewish principles, and if, therefore, we are compelled to look for another religion whence it could have been borrowed, even then we must bear in mind three more rules before we can hope to establish our case: The non-Jewish idea or institution by which we wish to explain the Christian one must in general at least correspond to it. I say deliberately, in general at least; for it is quite possible, nay, even probable, that an idea, when transplanted from one religion into another, may undergo slight modification; but to be derived from another religion it must exist there in germ at least. Or, to be more exact—and this is the second point I should like to emphasize—it must have existed there prior to the birth of Christianity; for otherwise it could not have called forth or influenced a Christian idea. It is true, views may be much older than the sources in which we for the first time meet them; but before making such an assumption we must offer some evidence in substantiation of it. And even then we have not yet succeeded in showing a borrowing from that religion probable. We must in the last place show that that religion could indeed influence Christianity or Judaism, that these or one of them came into contact with that other religion and could borrow something from it. To be sure, sometimes we must assume such a dependence without being able to explain it. Those well-known fables on animals which we find with the Greeks even before Alexander the Great must have been absorbed from the people of India; but nobody can tell how they came to the Greeks. So sometimes we

may assume a pagan origin of a Christian idea or institution, even if we are not able to explain how it could have been produced by that non-Jewish religion ; but such an assumption may only be made if that religion contains an idea which corresponds closely to the Christian one, and if it contained this idea prior to the birth of Christianity.

Now, all this does *not* hold good with regard to two religions which are sometimes believed to have influenced early Christianity : Buddhism and Mithraism. It was the Leipzig professor of philosophy, Dr. Rud. Seydel, who for the first time tried to trace back a great portion of the narratives contained in the Gospels and in the first two chapters of Acts to Buddhist sources. He was followed by a Dutch scholar, Dr. van den Bergh van Eysinga, and now an American, Mr. A. Edmunds, of Philadelphia, who for the last ten years has published a good many articles and pamphlets on Buddhistic parallels to the Gospels, believes to have shown that John and Luke were indeed influenced by Buddhism. Also the late Professor Pfleiderer agreed with him, and even one of our foremost Sanscrit scholars, Pischel, of Berlin, thought that in some places the gospels were indeed dependent upon Buddhism.

But such a hypothesis is *a priori* very improbable. It is true there was a lively commercial intercourse between India and the West, but that does not yet prove that religious ideas migrated from India to Syria or Asia Minor. Professor Pischel has recently shown that Turkestan was influenced by India and did influence again the West ; but that by this sideway Buddhism became known there is very improbable. Only two among all the Greek and Roman authors of the two centuries after Alexander the Great mention Buddhism, Megasthenes and Alexander Polyhistor ; and they had either themselves been in India or borrowed from authors who seem to have been there. To be sure, King Asoka, the

Constantine of Buddhism, tells us, that he sent missionaries to some Greek kings and converted them to Buddhism, but that is entirely incredible. "There is no outside evidence," says Professor Hopkins of Yale, "that such missionaries ever arrived, or, if they did, that they ever had any influence, and scholars like M. Senart . . . incline to the opinion that Açoka had simply heard of these kings through his friend Antiochus and had dispatched missionaries to them when he boasted of the conversion of the Western world, within a year after the missionaries were sent . . . . Up to the present, no trace of any early Buddhistic worship has been found in the West. The only known monument, a reputed Gnostic tomb in Syracuse, is only supposed to have been Buddhistic—two suppositions in regard to a monument of comparatively late date." But for other reasons it is as good as certain indeed that in the second century Buddhism did influence Christianity, and even prior to Alexander the Great, as we previously noticed, the fables on animals must have migrated from India to Greece ; so it is not quite impossible that even the Gospels were in some respects influenced by Buddhistic traditions—provided, of course, that these traditions were older than our Gospels. Is this really the case ?

A few of the Buddhistic writings, to which the beforementioned scholars try to refer some narratives in the Gospels, the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, the Mahâvagga and the Tschullavagga, are indeed older than the Gospels. The Lalita Vistara, on the other hand, is in its present form post-Christian, and "as evidence of what early Buddhism actually was and is, of about the same value as some mediaeval poem would be of the real facts of the Gospel history." Still younger is the Lotus, and the Jâtakas date from the fifth century ; only a few of them may be demonstrated to be older. But it is utterly preposterous to treat all these writings as if they were pre-Christian.

It must be added that most of the supposed Buddhistic parallels to narratives in the Gospels are no parallels at all. Of course, I can discuss here only a few of them, but I have selected those which are considered as most remarkable by the before-mentioned scholars, and could at first sight in fact appear so.

It is well known as a matter of fact that the presentation of firstborn children in the temple was not prescribed by the Jewish law. It was for this reason that Seydel and his followers tried to trace back the narrative in Luke ii. 22 ff. to the Lalita Vistara, where a visit of the Buddha-child in the temple is described. But even if the Lalita Vistara were pre-Christian, still it could not have produced the Lukan narrative. For Buddha visits the temple only to conform to the fashion of the world, and in the temple he is acknowledged as god by gods and men; all this has no parallel at all in Luke. Nor can Simeon be compared with Asita who, according to Buddhistic tradition, came to Buddha through the air, prostrated himself before him and suddenly began to lament because he would not live to see his glory. Still less remarkable are the parallels to the prophetess Anna and the concluding remark: and the child grew, and waxed strong, filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was with him, which these scholars quote. The story of the presentation in the temple is certainly independent of Buddhistic ideas.

In some other cases there is greater similarity. In the Jâtakas a pious layman, absorbed in contemplation of Buddha, is said to have walked on the river Aciravatî until he observed its waves: then his ecstasy vanished and his feet began to sink. That reminds one of the story of Peter's walking on the water (Matt. xiv. 28 ff.), but still it need not be its source. Nor must the story of the widow's mite (Mark xii. 41 ff., Luke xxi. 1 ff.) be traced back to a similar

Buddhistic story, in which a widow offers two coppers which she had found on a dung-heap and is therefore praised by the high priest. A widow is so obviously an illustration of poverty that she could be introduced in two literatures independent of each other, and even the fact that she had two coins was to express that she could have retained one.

There is no narrative in the Gospels or in Acts which must be explained by Buddhistic influences on the Christian Church or the circles in which it originated. Not even a detailed comparison of the alleged Christian and Buddhistic parallels can demonstrate what appeared *a priori* improbable to us.

The same holds good with reference to Mithraism, the other religion mentioned above. It was first declared the source of Christianity in a book which appeared at the time of the great French revolution and which was a revolutionary book indeed: Dupuis, *Origine de tous les cultes*. In our own day the late Professor Dieterich, of Heidelberg, Professors Pfleiderer and Heitmüller have tried to explain by it at least some ideas in primitive Christianity, especially the later doctrine of the Lord's Supper; but such a theory is again rather improbable even for general reasons.

It is true, Mithraism, a further development of Parseeism, of which I shall later speak—Mithraism spread into the eastern part of Asia Minor already at the time of the Achaemenian kings, but in the pre-Christian era it did not push on to the West, and even later on it never entered the Graeco-Roman world. In all the countries bordering upon the Aegean Sea, says Professor Cumont, the author of the best book on the mysteries of Mithra we possess—in all countries bordering upon the Aegean Sea but one inscription, found in the Piraeus, speaks of Mithra. It is true, there are some sanctuaries of Mithra in the harbours of Phœnicia and

Egypt, but none in the interior. Nor are there any Greek names derived from Mithra, as they were derived from Egyptian or Phrygian deities (Isidorus, Serapion, Menophilus, Metrodotus) ; all names based upon Mithra, as, first and foremost Mithradates, are foreign formations. The Greek and Roman authors who mention Mithra (Strabo, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Plutarch, Lucian) call him a god of the Persians, and Dio Chrysostomus, who addressed some of his orations to the Tarsians, does not mention him at all. It is, therefore, very improbable that Paul, either in his native town or elsewhere, became familiar with his cult.

Nor is it necessary to explain his theology, and especially his doctrine of the Lord's Supper, by assuming such a model. To be sure, the opinion is widespread nowadays that Paul no longer regarded the Lord's Supper as a symbol of Christ's death, but as a sacrament in the later sense of the word, but I cannot convince myself that this opinion is right. At best some terms used by him (as, above all, the term: communion of the blood and the body of Christ) could have been borrowed from a theory, according to which a communion between God and man was brought about by a sacrificial meal, and in a similar way the fourth evangelist could have known of a conception of the Lord's Supper, according to which Christ's flesh and blood were tasted in the Lord's Supper ; for otherwise he would perhaps not have made Jesus say : " Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves." But were similar opinions held by the followers of Mithra ?

We possess two representations of the holy meal of the cult of Mithra, which were found in Bosnia and at Rome. In both of them two mysts are represented as reclining at table and some others as standing around them and dressed up or masked as raven, Persian, soldier and lion. Now it is true these masks of animals, and the corresponding

names of animals which were conferred on these men, originally were intended to express the opinion that the follower of a god, who in olden times was represented in the form of an animal, became identical with him. But it is quite improbable, nay, it is impossible, that this origin of the masks and names of animals was known later on. For later on, as we just noticed, to these two classes of mysts, the ravens and the lions, two others, the Persians and the soldiers, were added, who, of course, did not have the same origin, but were assumed, because Mithra was a Persian god and because he was venerated above all by the soldiers. Nay, even if the origin of the masks and names of animals were known later on, it could not have been believed that the mysts put on the god by the holy meal. Cumont even thinks it probable that only the "lions," and not the lower grades, were allowed to take part in the meal; so the "ravens" could not at all have been believed to put on the god through it. Thus the conception of the Lord's Supper presupposed by John and the more general idea of a communion with God occasioned by a holy meal, which perhaps influenced Paul's mode of expression and was shared by the Corinthians, when they were afraid to eat things sacrificed to idols—these ideas cannot be traced back to Mithraism. The view of the Corinthians was connected with their belief in demons; Paul's mode of expression came perhaps from a belief in communion with the Deity held by former generations, but the conception of the Lord's Supper presupposed in the Fourth Gospel was of Christian origin.

Let us, therefore, turn to those religions which could have influenced primitive Christianity indeed, either directly or indirectly, i.e., through the instrumentality of Israelitish and Jewish religion. The Egyptian religion could, of course, have acted upon those not only during the sojourn of the Israelitish tribes in Egypt, but also later on; but as

a matter of fact this does not seem to have been the case, at least not in any respect important for Christianity. The religion of the original inhabitants of Palestine influenced the Israelitish one after the tribes had settled in the country, but the southern kingdom, which alone was of importance for the later development of the Jewish religion, shook itself free from these elements. Assyrian and Babylonian cults penetrated into Israel from the eighth century on, and though they were opposed by the prophets and king Josiah, still they could have influenced the Israelitish religion. In the same way during the exile some worshipped Babylonian deities and others could at least have been influenced by these cults. Nor did the Babylonian religion disappear after the Babylonian empire had fallen before the Persians; even in the first century after Christ there were three schools of priests in Babylonia. Consequently, the Jews who remained in Babylonia, and through their agency the Jews in general, may have been influenced by Babylonian ideas even later on, and their views could again have penetrated into the Christian religion.

So far then the German scholars who sought for Babylonian elements in the New Testament were quite right. Professor Gunkel, then at Berlin, now at Giessen, blazed the trail in this respect by his epoch-making book, published in 1895, *Creation and Chaos*, a religio-historical investigation of Genesis i. and Revelation xii. Later on appeared another booklet of his, entitled, *Contributions to the Religio-historical Interpretation of the New Testament*, in which he tried to trace back to Babylonian influence still other passages of the New Testament, and his former colleague, Professor Zimmern, of Leipsic, edited for the third time Professor Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, taking into consideration also the New Testament. Dr. Jeremias, of Leipsic, published a treatise on Babylonian

influences in the New Testament, and finally, Professor Jensen, of Marburg, issued the first volume of a very bulky work on the influence of the Gilgamesh epic on the world's literature, in which, on the basis of this epic, he tried to explain not only a great many Old Testament narratives, but also nearly the whole tradition concerning Christ.

Now this theory is intenable because the evangelical tradition cannot be considered as a mere myth. For the same reason not even the tradition of Christ's death and resurrection at Easter can be explained in such a way. It is only at a very few points that a Babylonian influence on the New Testament may be established.

As in Judaism, so in primitive Christianity sometimes seven angels standing before God or His throne are mentioned. Also the seven spirits, which, according to the Revelation of John, Jesus has, must originally be identical with them ; and, moreover, as the seven spirits the seven lamps before God's throne and the seven eyes of the Lamb are interpreted. Now eyes of the Deity is a very obvious and therefore frequent metaphor for stars, and more easily still stars could be compared with lamps. Indeed, in other passages the Son of Man is described as having in His right hand seven stars. All this is only comprehensible if these seven stars were especially important or, to be more exact, if they were venerated in another religion and subordinated to the true God or the Messiah by putting them into His hand or regarding them as His eyes, or by placing them as lamps before God.

Now we know that later on in the Babylonian religion the so-called seven planets, i.e. the sun, the moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, were worshipped in the first place. In other religions, of which we shall hear by-and-by, they were regarded as subject to the highest god, and the same idea is expressed in a more plastic way by the conceptions found in Revelation.

In what has been said is implied that the seven planets, as other stars, were considered as living, or at least animated beings. Thus it is to be explained that in Judaism they were represented as seven angels or spirits which stand before God and His throne or which the Messiah has. In other words, all these groups of seven beings mentioned in the first chapters of Revelation and discriminated between by its author (the seven angels, spirits, lamps, eyes, stars) were originally identical. The author was therefore perfectly right in interpreting the lamps and eyes as spirits; but the original sense of all these quantities was no longer known to him. He only believed that there were seven archangels, and had heard that there were seven lamps before God, seven eyes of the Lamb and seven stars in the hand of the Messiah, and interpreted these latter by the former conception.

There are two other notions in the Apocalypse of John which must be explained in a similar way. In chapter iv. we read that round about the throne of God there are four and twenty thrones, and upon the thrones four and twenty elders, arrayed in white garments, sit, and on their heads are crowns of gold. To judge from their description these elders must be angels, and being placed before God's throne just as the seven spirits previously mentioned, they may be interpreted as stars too. Indeed, we learn from Diodorus that in addition to the zodiac the Babylonians venerated twenty-four other stars, which they called rulers of the world. Perhaps even the Persians discriminated between twenty-four minor gods, but they may have been dependent upon the Babylonians. Thus it is safer to derive the twenty-four elders of Revelation from *their* religion; the rulers of the world had been subordinated to the true God similarly to the seven planets.

I mentioned a moment ago that according to Diodorus

and other older authorities the Babylonians worshipped the signs of the zodiac, though they to some extent termed them otherwise than later generations. So it is easy to be understood that already at the end of the eighteenth century Dupuis attempted to refer the four living creatures, which the seer of the Apocalypse sees in the midst of and round about the throne of God to the main signs of the Babylonian zodiac. Indeed, the lion and the calf or ox, as this creature is called by Ezekiel, who, as is well known, gives a similar description of God's throne, can very well be identified with Lion and Taurus in the zodiac, which were called by these very names by the Babylonians and are ninety degrees distant from each other. But the third creature, which is described as having a face as of a man, cannot be Aquarius, who is again ninety degrees distant from Taurus; for this sign of the zodiac was not called Aquarius by the Babylonians, but water-cask. Nevertheless they represented Scorpion, which is opposite to Taurus, as a man with a scorpion's tail. Consequently we may recognize the creature having a face as of a man in this sign of the zodiac. Finally, the fourth creature like a flying eagle is probably not to be identified with the sign of the zodiac now bearing the same name; for we do not know if it was thus called by the Babylonians, and at any rate it is not opposite to the Lion. Here we find Pegasus, the winged horse, which seems to have been known to the Babylonians too; therefore we may best refer the eagle to it. To be sure, Pegasus is not in the zodiac, but that does not matter; it is quite probable that the less conspicuous signs of the zodiac were named only later and that the corresponding parts of the ecliptic were previously designated by constellations lying north or south of it. It is true, thus far we cannot prove that these four constellations, Lion, Taurus, Scorpion and Pegasus, were especi-

ally venerated by the Babylonians ; but bearing in mind that they venerated the signs of the zodiac, and recalling that all these four constellations contain one star of the first magnitude, it seems very natural that they should have marked them out in such a way. As the seven planets and the twenty-four other stars they had been subordinated to the true God by placing them in the midst of and round about His throne. Of course the author of the Revelation of John no longer knew the origin of all these numbers; he had only heard that there were twenty-four elders sitting round God's throne and four creatures in the midst of it.

From chapter xi. on we hear of one or two beasts or a dragon which are to appear before the end. The same expectation is found in Judaism, especially in the book of Daniel, whereas in the Old Testament a similar monster is sometimes declared to have lived in hoary antiquity. I quote only the clearest passage, Isaiah xi. 9: "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of Jehovah ; awake as in the days of old, the generations of ancient times. Is it not thou that didst cut Rahab in pieces, that didst pierce the monster?" And this monster is to reappear before the end ; it was and is not, says the apocalyptist, and is about to come up out of the abyss.

Now it is clear that such a conception could not originate in Israel ; it is therefore quite comprehensible that a great many scholars have tried to trace it back to Babylonia. But Tiâmat, whom Marduk in the Babylonian epic of the creation is said to have conquered, is described as a woman not as a beast. Still we have a great many plastic representations of the fight of a Babylonian god with a monster, by which the monster of hoary antiquity may be understood. The Babylonians may even have expected its reappearance in future ; at any rate such a dread is

found in Parseeism and Mandaism. But it seems necessary to seek the origin of the whole conception in Babylonia.

Chapter xii. is probably reared upon a still more detailed myth. In the first place it is evident that a Christian writer like the author of Revelation could announce the birth of a man child, who was to rule all the nations with a rod of iron, i.e. the Messiah, only if he made use of a Jewish tradition which referred to the birth of the Messiah, but at the same time announced some other things which a Christian writer expected too, so that he could incorporate the whole tradition into his book, though in his opinion it had already been partially fulfilled. But how could a Jewish tradition describe the birth of the Messiah in the way in which it is described here : a woman arrayed with the sun, and the moon, under her feet and upon her head a crown of twelve stars shall bear him, but a great red dragon, shall try to devour him and shall afterwards persecute the woman that had given birth to the Messiah, and cast out of his mouth after her water as a river that he might cause her to be carried away by the stream ? All this was only possible if this Jewish tradition made use of a pagan myth which described the birth of a god in such a way. For a pagan goddess could be represented indeed as arrayed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. Nay, we know that Damkina, the mother of Marduk, was pictured in such a way, and remembering that, as we saw a little while ago, the dragon came from Babylonia too, it was quite natural that Gunkel should maintain that the whole myth must have had the same origin.

There were, however, still other religions upon which primitive Christianity may have been dependent. After the conquest of Babylon by the Persians their religion could have influenced the Jews in the exile, and this religion of the

Persians was no other than that which we find in the Avesta. It is true, the religion of the Avesta has been declared as post-Christian by a few scholars; but they have not made good their case. What we read in the Gathas, the Heptanghaiti-Yasna, in some other parts of the same book, and finally in the metrical portions of the Yašts, may indeed be used for the explanation of Jewish and Christian ideas. Even the Bundehiš which in its present form was written only in the ninth century of our era is probably a translation of one of the books of the old Avesta, and may, therefore, cautiously be employed for our purpose.

The first writer to do this was the German poet Herder; his explanation of the New Testament from a newly discovered oriental source, which appeared in 1775, referred to the Avesta. In the beginning of the last century the English poet Keats wrote to his brother and his sister: "It is pretty generally suspected that the Christian scheme has been copied from the ancient Persian and Greek philosophers." Ten years ago a Swedish scholar, Professor Stave of Upsala, published a book on the influence of Parseeism on Judaism, in which, in fact, he explained some New Testament ideas too. Finally, Dr. Moffatt examined the relations of Zoroastrianism and primitive Christianity in some articles published in the two first volumes of the *Hibbert Journal*, and Professor Bousset, of Göttingen, discussed the same question with regard to Judaism in the concluding chapter of his *Jewish Religion in the Time of the New Testament.*

It is above all the eschatology of Judaism and primitive Christianity which must in part be traced back to Parseeism. Even Satan, who was identified with Ahriman first by the French deists, could not be explained in such a way if his defeat at the end of all things were not expected in Judaism and primitive Christianity as well as in Parseeism. More-

over, the beast which is to reappear before the end came perhaps, as we saw a little while ago, more directly from Persia than from Babylonia ; for here we find the very same expectation. Also the son of man is probably, in the final analysis, identical with the primitive man of the Parsees, though the conception could have attained its later form, in which it influenced Judaism and Christianity, only in some other religion or philosophy.

Thus it is especially the Jewish and Christian eschatology which probably was in part absorbed from Parseeism. The expectation of the destruction of the world by fire could not have originated in Palestine, but only in a country in which there are volcanos. Persia was such a country, and here we find this expectation, together with the other one that in the end there will be no more mountains. To this expectation probably such words are to be traced back as Zechariah xiv. 20 : " all the land shall be made like the Arabah, from Geba to Rimmon south of Jerusalem " ; or the description of the new Jerusalem in the Revelation of John xxi. 16 : " the city lies foursquare, and the length thereof is as great as the breadth : and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs : the length and the breadth and the height thereof are equal."

In the same way the destiny of the individual after death is, in some respects, conceived of by Judaism and early Christianity after the pattern of Parseeism. Here the soul was believed to leave the body only three days after death ; it was probably for this reason that not only the rabbis held the same view, but also the Gospel of John narrated that Lazarus, when he was raised by Christ, had been dead four days, i.e., not seemingly, but really dead. Moreover, the Parsees believed that after that time the soul wandered through the different heavens and could do so in ecstasy even before death. It can hardly be doubted that

Paul, when he spoke of his having been caught up to the third heaven and into Paradise, was ultimately dependent upon this Parsee conception. Perhaps also the description of Christ's exaltation, " He passed through the heavens," Hebrews iv. 14, had the same origin. Furthermore, the Parsees believed that Ahura Mazda and Añra Mainyu fought for the souls ; so according to the midrash to Deuteronomy did God and Satan for the soul of Moses ; and, according to the epistle of Judas, for his body. Finally, the new body which the blessed shall receive is compared to a new garment in the Avesta ; the same comparison occurs in Judaic writings and in the New Testament.

It is true, some of these conceptions have also been traced back to Greek influences ; but this explanation, which has recently been brought forward especially by Dieterich, is much less probable. Nor can the derivation of some other ideas from this source be established, though accepted by a great many scholars now. The conception of the virgin birth of Christ is hardly to be explained from Greek myths, but from Jewish ideas as we find them in Philo. Still more easily can the belief in Christ's descent into Hades be traced back to these : if all men go to the underworld after death, then, of course, Christ must have been there too. Perhaps His exaltation to the right hand of God or His appearance on earth after having pre-existed in heaven seemed more credible to some members of the Christian Church because they had formerly believed in apotheoses and theophanies ; but the Christian doctrines themselves did not flow from these sources.

There are only a very few conceptions in primitive Christianity which must necessarily be traced back to Greek influences. Paul expected the incestuous man at Corinth to die because he had execrated him, just as by the author of Acts Peter and Paul were believed to have killed Sapphira

and blinded Barjesuan by their word. This is a view which was found in other nations too, but pre-eminently among the Greeks and Romans during the centuries preceding and following Christ's birth. Moreover, the idea of the inspiration of holy Scripture, as we meet with it in 2 Timothy iii. 16, can only be traced back to Greek philosophy, which, however, so far was perhaps dependent upon oriental religions. Finally, the belief that baptism is not a symbol, but a sacrament providing forgiveness of sin, as we find it in Acts, can also be explained only by the part played by ablutions in Greek mysteries, which, it is true, in their turn were influenced by other religions, but influenced Christianity only in their Greek form.

Now it can, of course, not be denied that these last-mentioned conceptions were very important for the later development of Christianity. But in general only more or less subordinate points may be traced back to non-Jewish influences. It was, therefore, a colossal exaggeration when Professor Gunkel asserted that Christianity was a syncretistic religion from the beginning. Its central ideas as a matter of fact were new; others were borrowed from Judaism, but only a few and mostly subordinate views were absorbed from other religions. To be sure, Christianity would not be depreciated by the proof of intimate connexions with such religions; but, in fact, such evidence cannot be offered. The Christians were indeed, what a second-century apologist called them, a new race.

Carl Clemen.

ON THE OMNISCIENCE OF OUR LORD.

THERE is no question touching the Person and Nature of Christ which is to-day of more importance than this. That there were questions far more crucial, more vital, goes without saying; but these have been cleared out of the way, for the great majority of us, by the controversies and researches of past ages. If we accept the Catholic doctrine of Christ, both God and man (as Hooker, e.g., accepted it in his immortal work), we are saved from the necessity of trying to think out any of the *greater* problems which inevitably confront a devout believer in Christ. That tremendous clash, which wrought as much distress to individuals as it wrought confusion in the world, between those who asserted and those who denied the co-equal Godhead of the Son, was bound to come. No amount of charity, or of wide-mindedness, could have prevented it. The necessity lay in the New Testament writings themselves, which raised the question without dogmatically settling it. It is apparently contrary to the genius of the inspired Scripture to settle anything dogmatically. What it does is to present the elements and principles freely and fully, and to leave it to the living experience of the Society to find the theological formula which will combine and harmonize these elements and principles. But the long and melancholy struggle which is associated with the name of Athanasius did its appointed work. Individuals may still be found who occupy the same intellectual standpoint as the Arians: but for the vast majority of Christians the controversy is closed; the attempt to assign to our Lord a secondary and inferior

divinity was honestly made, and it broke down ; the devouter Arians themselves became semi-Arians, and from among the semi-Arians arose the new and more successful champions of that Nicene faith which seemed to have been overthrown. So also it was with those other great questions which men had successively to face as they went on trying to make intelligible to themselves the mysterious union of Divine and human in the Saviour of the world.

It is, however, true that the difficulties which beset the accepted doctrine (i.e., the doctrine which has stood the test of time, experience, and controversy) of our Saviour Christ, both God and man, are endless. Some of them, no doubt, are purely intellectual, or scholastic, and of little or no practical concern. I venture to think myself that the controversy which separated the "Monothelites" from their brethren was of this nature. Whether our Lord had, properly speaking, two wills or one depends entirely upon the metaphysical question whether the will belongs to the personality or the nature—a question which can be argued either way. It makes no practical difference because every one agrees that our Lord always subordinated His human will to that of the Father—which was also His own as the Son and Word of God. Agreed that our Lord had the two wills, it is also true that the lower will left no trace upon His earthly life.[1] It is only intellectually that we can contemplate the question at all.

It is quite different when we speak of the omniscience of our Lord, because it is obviously of the most practical concern possible. If He was omniscient He was in that respect utterly unlike ourselves : He lived, spoke, acted,

[1] It is hardly necessary to point out that a passage like St. Luke xxii. 42 has in it nothing decisive : the two wills here in question are not the two wills of Christ, but the will of the Father on the one hand, and of the Man Christ Jesus on the other hand.

under conditions so foreign to the common life of men that (if we have not done so before) we shall be compelled to look at Him afresh, to reconsider Him (as it were), and to try to understand Him in this new light. On the other hand, if we deliberately reject the notion that He was omniscient, it will open the door to a number of probable or possible consequences which may profoundly modify our conception of His manifestation. It is not, surely, a theological subtlety, a logomachy. In striving to realize, and to make our own, the Jesus of the Gospels, it makes all the difference whether we suppose that He knew everything all the time, or whether we suppose that He only knew (by intuition, experience, or revelation of the Spirit) what was needful for us men and for our salvation. I do not hesitate to avow that I hold the latter with all the strength of my religious conviction. But I know, of course, that the question is at present (informally) before the Church and cannot be settled off-hand. What I wish to do, therefore, is to examine it dispassionately by the light of Scripture and of the Catholic Faith. The appeal must lie to *both*, because each is paramount in its own sphere. The appeal may safely be made to *both*, because they cannot ultimately contradict one another. The mind of the Spirit is declared (in different ways and under different limitations) both in Scripture, and in the general assent and consent of Christians as to the faith that is in them. No Anglican, at any rate, can very well deny this, although he may by instinct or habit prefer the one appeal to the other. It might be much better if we regarded both with the like reverence as divinely appointed means of guidance : but since they both agree in one, it is (comparatively speaking) immaterial to which we are most disposed to listen.

Let us begin with Scripture. And here we have, if possible, to do justice to three things. Firstly, the general

picture of our Lord as He appears in the Gospels. Secondly, certain sayings concerning His knowledge. Thirdly, the dogmatic teaching about His humanity in the Epistle to the Hebrews. These are, avowedly, the chief things to be attended to.

I. Even devout people vary very much in their power of taking in the outstanding features of that human life which is sketched for us in the Gospels. Many lose the general effect, to a great degree, in the contemplation of details, the consideration of texts. Few, however, would deny that the picture set before us is in general so thoroughly human, so unaffectedly the picture of one like unto ourselves (sin only excepted) that any other exception, any further difference, needs to be clearly substantiated: *a priori* the assumption is against it.[1]

More than this: it seems impossible that the Evangelists (at any rate, the Synoptical Evangelists) should have used the language they do use concerning our Lord, if they had thought of Him as omniscient. In the only record left of His boyhood (St. Luke ii. 52) He is said to have "advanced in wisdom and stature," which is as much as to say that His intellectual and physical development kept pace with one another. In that Gospel which is almost universally believed to contain the liveliest picture of the Son of Man, and the one drawn at nearest hand (St. Mark vi. 6), He is said to have "marvelled because of" the "unbelief" of the people at Nazareth. How could He have been surprised if He had known exactly what to expect? In the narrative of that dread scene in the garden wherein our Lord appears to us

[1] I have no space to do more than lodge an emphatic protest against the common (but most mistaken) notion that our Lord was differentiated from other men by His power to work miracles and to absolve from sin. The mere fact that He deliberately handed on both these powers (or authorities) to His followers disposes of any such assumption (St. John xiv. 12, xx. 23). He *could* only have handed on powers which can be lodged in human agents.

so pathetically human, it is written that He "began to be greatly amazed, and sore troubled" (St. Mark xiv. 33). What is here intimated by St. Mark, what explains the "exceeding sorrow" of St. Matthew, the agony and bloody sweat of St. Luke, is surely that sense of *consternation*, of encountering something which is as unexpected as it is awful, which is impossible to an omniscient being. It is a combination of surprise and horror, raised to their highest pitch.

It may, no doubt, be urged that the language used by St. Mark and the others need not be pressed. It may be said that He only *seemed* to have these feelings of astonishment and consternation: that they only represent what He *would* have felt if He had not been omniscient. It is, however, necessary to say that nothing in the world can be more dangerous than such "docetic" teaching concerning our Lord. If we once admit that our Lord was playing a part, that His whole manifestation in the flesh was not absolutely genuine and sincere, we let go the beginning of our confidence in Him. Indeed, the whole "docetic" interpretation of our Lord's life is condemned root and branch by the history of Christian thought. It was apparently the earliest heretical tendency which brought men into conflict with the "truth as it is in Jesus." It is the one (in all probability) which is so fiercely condemned in 1 St. John iv. and in 2 St. John. Like its successors, it was, no doubt, honest and well meant enough, and had plenty to say for itself. Men brought up in heathen philosophy could not for a moment allow that their Incarnate God really suffered pain and agony of mind and death. The Divine is impassible. He suffered, therefore, and died, as He had lived, only in a semblance which served, on the one hand, to manifest His Presence to His friends, on the other to deceive His foes. It may be that He fled away to the Father from the Cross; it may be that Simon of Cyrene took his place. Anyhow,

whatever in His career spoke of suffering, shame, or loss, was only apparent, not real. He did not come "in the flesh," i.e., under the actual conditions of human life, but only in an (unreal) appearance of them. Such was the "docetic" heresy, once very popular and widely spread, and even yet active enough in the underlying error of it in quarters where the very name of heresy is abhorred. For it founded itself upon the axiom that a Divine Being cannot lay aside the attributes of Deity. Impassibility and immortality are confessedly Divine attributes. Wherefore, if the Divine Saviour *seemed* to suffer and to die, He *could* only seem to do so—He could not really. Substitute omniscience for impassibility, and limitation of knowledge for suffering, and you have precisely the old difficulty, the old falsity, over again. Whatever happens we must stick to the genuineness of our Lord's whole manifestation: we must *believe* that picture of Him which is drawn by St. Mark and the others.

II. There are certain sayings, chiefly in the Fourth Gospel, which look another way. "He knew all men," "He knew what was in man" (St. John ii. 25). He showed an apparently supernatural acquaintance with their circumstances (St. John i. 47, 48, iv. 17, 18; St. Matt. xvii. 25), and their thoughts (St. Mark ii. 8, ix. 33–37; St. Luke vii. 40; St. John vi. 61). There can be no doubt that this mysterious power did differentiate Him to some extent from those around Him. It would not be right to make light of this fact. He had a reach and a depth of insight into men's hearts and minds which often enabled Him to read them like an open book. But other men have possessed *something* of this unusual insight, founded partly upon experience, partly also upon some peculiar mental endowment. As a supernatural gift it passed over in some measure to the apostles. SS. Peter and John saw, by some secret intimation, that the

expectant beggar had faith to be saved; and St. Paul saw the same thing in the cripple at Lystra. St. Peter knew of the crooked dealings and wretched fate of Ananias and Sapphira, and St. Paul was similarly informed concerning Elymas. It is not at all necessary, in order to do the fullest justice to these facts and to the strong words of St. John, to throw the rest of the picture into the shade—much less to discredit it. It is evident from such a narrative as St. Mark v. 30–32 that our Lord had within His human nature sources of information more or less peculiar to Himself. Apart from these we are certain that things were continually being revealed to Him by the Father, with whom He walked in unbroken submission and communion (compare St. John xi. 41, 42). They went always "both of them together"; and whatever was needful for His mission as Saviour of the World was "shown" to Him, or "given" to Him, as the need arose. But this was absolutely consistent with His being as little *omniscient* as we are, in a general sense.

III. The testimony of the writer to the "Hebrews" is curiously emphatic and far-reaching. It is not easy to guess what it was which led him to lay such tremendous stress upon the fact of our Lord being really and truly one of ourselves. He begins by exalting Him—in His origin and essential glory—far above all angels; and then He puts Him down on the common level of the children of men. He insists that He was exactly like us, with the solitary exception of sin (Heb. ii. 10–18, iv. 15, v. 7–9). Sin, of course, is no part of human nature, no condition of human life. It is like a fungoid disease in animal or tree, nothing original or proper to it, but something which has attached itself to it, to its injury and (if not cured) to its ultimate destruction. Our Saviour was sinless just because He was perfect man. Otherwise He was exactly like us. He was even tempted just as we are. Now this is really much more hard

of credence than that His knowledge was limited. It seems so discreditable in itself, so unfitting for a Divine Being, to be *tempted*—to feel the draw, the urgency, the insistence, of those solicitations of the world, the flesh, or the devil, which distress and disgust us all the more if we are resolute not to follow them. Consider for a moment what St. James says about it: "God cannot be tempted with evil, and He Himself tempteth no man; but each man is tempted, when he is drawn away by his own lust, and enticed" (chap. i. 13, 14). How is it possible to maintain, in the face of such testimony as this, that the Holy One of God was "tempted in all points like as we are"? I know a devout, well-read, and singularly intelligent native Christian in India who cannot receive this. God forbid, he says, that the Divine Saviour should be tempted to sin! But it is so written, and it is not possible for an orthodox Christian be get away from it.[1] But surely, surely, to admit that He was tempted with evil, and at the same time to deny that His knowledge was or could be limited, is to strain out the gnat and to swallow the camel!

The writer to the Hebrews, therefore, does everything but say in so many words that our Lord—like ourselves—was not omniscient. His general statements, emphatic as they are, include it. His special statement about temptation goes beyond it. One only exception—sin: no room for any other either in his words, or in the profound convictions which underlie the words. Each of the sacred writers has his proper gift from God the Holy Ghost; and it seems to be the peculiar privilege of this man to realize more than others the ineffable dignity and splendour of the Incarnation from the point of view of poor, distressed, suffering and tempted humanity. When *He* stepped down into

[1] I make no comment on the records of "The Temptation" in the Gospels because it is possible to read them as allegories or parables rather than as ordinary narratives of fact.

our ranks who was the Immortal and the Eternal, He made no reservations, retained no immunities, whatsoever. He became our very Brother, not in word only but in deed. His glory was not in being different from us, but (precisely) in being like unto us. His dignity was manifested in what seemed to carnal minds to depress Him even below the common level. Thus, e.g., in Hebrews ii. 9 : "We behold . . . Jesus, because of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour, that by the grace of God He should taste death for every man." With a curious blindness to the writer's real meaning (which is obvious enough, once it is pointed out) Christian commentators have persisted in trying to see here the "glory and honour" of the Ascension into Heaven ; and the Authorized Version has (quite unwarrantably) *altered the order and connection of the words* in order to read this meaning into them. A moment's comparison of our two versions with the original Greek will make this plain. What the author had before his mind's eye was certainly *not* that "crown of pure gold" with which He was (figuratively speaking) crowned when He sat down at the right hand of God, King of kings and Lord of lords. It was obviously that other crown, of thorns, with which His mother, the Jewish Church, crowned Him in the day of His espousals—when He purchased to Himself the universal Church to be His Bride for ever. What the sacred writer saw was Jesus as Pilate led Him forth wearing the crown of thorns and the robe of mockery. Pilate had a sense of scornful humour, and cried aloud, "Behold your King." We do behold Him, in that guise, and we recognize at once, beyond any possibility of mistake, that no conceivable "glory and honour" could ever come near to the moral dignity of that supreme self-sacrifice, intimated by that crown of thorns. It may be that "all the crowns of empire meet upon that brow" in Heaven above. I do

not hesitate to say that whatever they may represent is as nothing compared with the glory and honour of that utter self-abasement, of that vicarious sacrifice. It is the *moral* splendour, the *spiritual* dignity, of the Redeemer which must hold and fascinate every Christian eye, and that shines out resplendent, as everybody knows, in the Crucifixion. We do not do common justice to ourselves and to our undoubted convictions when we pretend to think otherwise. It was "by the grace of God," by virtue of that singular favour which the Father bestowed upon His only-beloved Son, that the Son tasted death upon the Cross for every man. The Father had, could have, no higher grace, no greater honour, to bestow even upon Him. The writer to the Hebrews saw this, and said it, because it was given to him to realize what the Incarnation meant, viz., the absolute identifying of Himself on the part of the Eternal Son with that human race which He came to save, for which He was destined to die. The gifts of God, such as man can receive, He could and did receive: albeit the greatest of them was typified by the crown of twisted thorns. But to be *different* from men (save only in the matter of sin), *that* He could not receive. He was made like unto His brethren *in all things*.

We are now to look at this question of omniscience from the point of view of the Catholic faith. The doctrine of our Saviour Christ, both God and man, was elaborated through a long period of controversy such as must have cost an inconceivable amount of mental and spiritual misery to countless individuals, not to speak of the physical sufferings of many. Such was the will of God that the Church, which is the mother of all living, should bring nothing to the birth save through long agony. One can only say that it was (even humanly speaking) worth while. Had the Catholic doctrine of Christ been simply, unmistakeably, set down for

us in Scripture, it had been of far less value. As it is, the living Society, the Body of Christ, had to fight its way to the truth through blood and tears, through loss and shame and scandal and disaster immeasurable. The doctrine of Christ, both God and man, is, of course, drawn from the New Testament writings. But it was tried and tested and found true, under the good hand of God, through centuries of toil and travail. When people point the finger of scorn at the hateful bitterness and oppression and wrong, at the secret cabals and the open scandals, which accompanied the shaping of the Church's creed, they forget that such is the universal law. It is part of the price. Birth-pangs are not only painful: they are sordid and humiliating too. But when they are past they do but serve to enhance the joy of possession. It was worth while.

What is the foundation truth in this doctrine of Christ? It is twofold: it is that He is consubstantial with the Father; it is (and just as much) that He is consubstantial with us. This word consubstantial (*homoousios*, "of one substance") stands to-day in the Nicene (or Constantinopolitan) Creed, on the one side only, in reference to the Father. It used to stand there also in reference to us:[1] and if it was omitted, it was certainly not because any doubted it, but because it lay outside the then present field of controversy. One may venture to wish that it had been retained. Consubstantial with *the Father:* consubstantial with *us*. Those are the two terms which must for ever balance one another. It was the failure to keep her grasp upon this fundamental truth—the emphasizing of the former term to the practical voidance of the latter—which led the Church into the endless mazes of the Monophysite movement. No one can fully

[1] So in the Chalcedon confession: "We believe in Jesus Christ . . . truly God and truly man . . . consubstantial with the Father as touching His Godhead, and consubstantial with us as touching His manhood."

appreciate the Catholic doctrine who has not followed this controversy with sympathy; sympathy especially for the side which was wrong, which was condemned. They were so deeply in earnest, these Monophysites of Egypt and of the East; so zealous to do honour to our Lord, so jealous of the "crown-rights of Jesus," so convinced that they were on His side in the long strife with the Princes of this world. Morally and religiously they stood, as far as we can now discern, far higher than their opponents—at any rate their *official* opponents. Above all, they *suffered*, with infinite patience and firmness, accepting poverty and persecution without flinching, for the truth of Christ as they saw it, for the glory of the Divine Saviour. The life-story of Jacob Baradai, Bishop and Beggarman, recalls the career of an Athanasius, of a St. Paul, not merely in its amazing catalogue of adventures, labours and sufferings, but still more in the unwearied passion of disinterested zeal and self-devotion which animated and ennobled it. If, however, one's sympathy, one's admiration, is almost wholly engaged in behalf of the Monophysites, one can the more unhesitatingly thank God that their error was rejected.[1] They made the usual mistake of heretics, albeit quite honestly and out of the purest loyalty—the mistake of seizing half the truth eagerly, passionately, and making it their all. They did not indeed deny the humanity of our Lord in word, but they practically made it of no account. It was swallowed up, they said, in His divinity as a drop of honey might be in an ocean of water. For them the Lord Christ was the Word of

[1] Most writers who concern themselves with "heretics" seem to assume one of two things. Either (1) the men *must* have been bad because their creed was at fault, or (2) their heresy *must* have been immaterial because the men were at least as good as their opponents. History makes it abundantly plain that not a few teachers of ruinous errors (and such as time has shown to be ruinous) have been amongst the most admirable and lovable of mankind.

God made visible and audible in the likeness of men; living, acting, suffering, dying, under the outward conditions of human life. These conditions were necessary for His manifestation: they prevailed so far, but only so far, as that necessity held; beyond that they were lost in the glory of His Godhead. Now that left room, abundant room, for a most beautiful and inspiring faith, for a passion of love and zeal. But it was not the Catholic faith: it ignored, it denied in great measure, the "consubstantial with us" which was to balance the "consubstantial with the Father." All the same the Monophysite spirit is always among us, and in proportion as men are zealous for our Lord's co-equal Godhead, so will they be tempted to minimize the truth and reach of His manhood.

Let us see how far the Monophysites succeeded in carrying with them the assent and consent of Christendom. It was conceded to them, at the instance of Justinian,[1] that it was quite orthodox to say, "One of the Trinity was crucified for us": the concession was accepted by the Church, and holds good for all time. He who suffered, was tempted, died, was personally the Word of God, and no one else. It is true, of course, that God cannot be tempted, or die. But by the Incarnation these impossibilities become not only possible but actual. We fancy indeed that we explain the impossibility when we add "in His human nature." In truth, we explain nothing: the impossibility remains as before. God cannot be tempted—only He *was*: God cannot die—only He *did*. One of the Trinity was crucified for us: it is incredible—only we know that it happened. We must not let ourselves be deceived into supposing that we have escaped the contradiction by adding, "in His human nature." God did not cease to be God when He was made man. He did not take to Himself a human *Person*

[1] See Hefele's *History of the Councils*, vol. iii., pp. 457, 458.

who could be tempted, and die. That was the error imputed to Nestorius. It was One of the Trinity, *and no one else*, who was crucified for us—through weakness, as St. Paul says. I insist on this (but not an atom more than I am entitled to do) because it makes it clear as daylight that human logic utterly fails before the mystery of the Incarnation. It is altogether vain to say *a priori* of the Incarnate One, "He must be this," or "He cannot be that." What He is, or is not, falls to be determined entirely by the mode in which He is actually "found in fashion as a man." He was tempted, and He died: two impossible things for God. We need have no hesitation in adding "His knowledge was limited," however incompatible that may seem with His Godhead. People say (not infrequently) that God the Son *could not* lay aside His omniscience. It is not well to venture on these "could nots" when one speaks of God. It is easy and natural (as well as true) to say that God could not die: but He did. In truth the primary impossibility which includes all the rest is the impossibility that God should really be incarnate, for how can One be God *and* man—two contrariant and at least partially repugnant things—at the same time? It is only credible and only possible because it actually came to pass. So when we bow the head, or fall upon our knees, at the "homo factus est" we abjure all right to set limits of human logic to the self-humiliation of God the Son. In working out the consequences of that supreme act of love and sacrifice reason must be exceeding modest and tentative, abandoning as inapplicable all her *a priori* assumptions, and suffering herself to be guided exclusively by that which was actually found in Him. Well, it was actually found in Him (along with other incredible things) that His knowledge was limited. He testified Himself that "the Son" did not know (any more than the angels) the day or the hour of the Second Advent (St. Mark

xiii. 32). If we like, we may add to "the Son" the formula "in His human nature." But we really gain nothing thereby. The *Person* who is ignorant is the Son, the Word: and that the Word of God should be ignorant of anything is impossible. Only, in the Incarnation the impossible is continually coming true, and we have no difficulty in believing it since He tells us it is so. For we can see that the processes of human reasoning do not apply to God, being gathered from and adapted unto human affairs and conditions only. Indeed, they do not apply altogether to anything that is strictly supernatural. It is the attempt, always going on, to apply human logic to heavenly mysteries which has led to half the confusion and half the superstition existing in the Church.

We have found, then, first, that the witness of Scripture is decidedly, if not decisively, in favour of the contention that our Lord's knowledge was limited.

We have found, second, that there is no presumption whatever against it from the side of the Catholic Faith. On the contrary, the analogy of the Faith would lead us to assume that our Lord humbled Himself to our level in every way which did not touch His sinless perfection. That great and glorious passage in Philippians ii. 5–11 may of course be controverted so far as the precise scope of certain words is concerned; but in general it affirms that our Lord in the mystery of the Incarnation was prepared to go, and did go, all lengths in the way of self-humbling and self-emptying. It is not explained, nor does any one pretend to understand (for we are not capable of understanding) how these things can be. They really stand, all of them, on the same level. Our Lord, being man, was ignorant by the same divine right by which He suffered, was tempted, died. There is no reason whatever, in human nature, in Scripture, in the Creed, to doubt of one of these more than of another.

And if there be no such reason, then we choose to believe it, and are bound to believe it, on the general principle that it is precisely the " weakness of God " which in the Incarnation is so much " stronger than men " (1 Cor. i. 25). The more He humbled Himself for us, the more did the Father exalt Him once, the more do we exalt Him for ever. It is for His lowliness, His helplessness, His being of no reputation, that we love Him so devoutly and are so keen to serve Him. His greatest claim upon us is exactly that He reserved for Himself no immunities, no prerogatives—save of suffering; that He gave Himself away so entirely; that He identified Himself with us in all the limitation of our created and dependent nature. In a word, we love and trust Him to the uttermost precisely because He became unreservedly one of ourselves—because He is our very Brother. It is *not* a theological question, wholly or mainly: it is a religious question: it touches that relationship between the Saviour and the individual disciple which is the inmost thing in religion.

His knowledge, as man, was limited. Let us see what this implies.

First, it rids us of the really appalling fancy that as a baby-child He knew (and consciously knew) everything. For as there is no ground for the omniscience of Christ except His being God, He must have been omniscient (if at all) from His birth, and before His birth. But a baby-child who should know all about everybody and everything would be a monster such as one does not like to think of. Over all his childhood and youth there would brood an atmosphere of unreality and of incongruity, shocking to contemplate. And his development, as he grew in years, would be hopelessly prevented and spoiled. The very beauty of man's opening years is that as he passes from stage to stage he is at home in each. It must (when we come to think of it) have been possible for Him also to say,

"When I was a child, I felt as a child, I thought as a child, I spake as a child." Otherwise His child-life had been only a form of imprisonment, grotesque and horrible indeed.

Secondly, it leaves it open to us to feel sure that His own knowledge did not bring Him into useless conflict with the ignorance of those around Him. I say *useless*, because there *was* a conflict which was useful and therefore unavoidable. As to where true religion lies, as to the way of salvation, as to all the great problems of spiritual life, as to the Father, our Saviour knew while the religious leaders of the nation did not know. Here was an inevitable conflict which led to His temporary and to their final overthrow. But there was no sign of any conflict between Him and His contemporaries on any topic of ordinary knowledge. Had He been omniscient, had He even possessed the knowledge which we possess, it is impossible to see how such conflict could have been avoided. Suppose, e.g., a scientific man of to-day carried back into the middle ages. Unless he purposely secluded himself, he must needs find himself in a very false and painful position. He could not honestly conform to the thought and the language of the day, because it rested continually on assumptions which he knew to be untrue. If, however, he thought and spoke on the basis of modern knowledge, he would either be utterly ridiculous or else he would incur the gravest suspicion. And all this would be to no purpose because neither his friends nor his foes could learn from him. The growth of knowledge (in all earthly things) is bound to be slow and gradual. As far as we can see, therefore, our Saviour's short ministry would have been wasted in disputes and misunderstandings about things which *do not belong to salvation*, had He been omniscient. As it was, He could and did use the common language of His age and people about all things not of the essence of religion, because His human knowledge of these things was

acquired in the schools of Palestine ; in other words, it was the same as that of the men around Him. For Him, as for them, the sun really " rose " in the morning and " set " in the evening. For Him, as for them, the Pentateuch was " Moses," and the Psalter " David." True religion (let us observe) is no more dependent upon, no more connected with, the literary character of the Old Testament than the facts of astronomy. True religion is the same always, everywhere : the same for men and women in every stage of intellectual development. Increasing knowledge, whether of astronomy or of Old Testament criticism, serves to illustrate religion from the intellectual side—but that is all. Our own enormously superior position in that respect, as compared with that of our Saviour's age, probably does not really compensate us for the accompanying loss of simplicity and directness. That our Lord willed to go without the intellectual treasures of science and knowledge which we possess, was all of a piece with His deliberate foregoing of wealth and place and power. If His own oft-repeated words—aye, and if the world-wide experience of to-day—mean anything, they mean that progress and greatness in *His* kingdom have no more to do with scientific knowledge (about the Scriptures, or about anything else) than with money or rank or genius. Since then, for *His* purposes, the matter was quite indifferent, why should He have been hampered with a knowledge which He could not use to any profit ? We are surely at liberty to follow the indications of Scripture itself, and to assume that our Lord's knowledge of things earthly was simply that of His age and race—that of the people unto whom He was sent.

Such a conviction as this, as it serves to rid us of other difficulties, so in especial it goes far to solve one of the great cruxes of Scripture which few thoughtful students of the Gospels have been able to look at without misgiving. It

is almost impossible to resist the evidence that our Lord believed, and led others to believe, that He would come again within a short time.[1] It is possible to believe that the Evangelists misreported Him. It is possible to believe that He *did* come again, and take away the first generation of Christians to Heaven. But both these assumptions are extremely difficult, in the face of the admitted facts. It is equally unsatisfactory to give some non-natural twist to His words in order to explain their apparent non-fulfilment. All these expedients must seem to the candid student counsels of despair. What are we then to believe? May we believe that in respect of prophecy our Lord's human mind worked even as did the minds of the Prophets by whom the Holy Ghost spake in the Old Testament? May we understand that He foresaw (and therefore foretold) the end of the Dispensation and His own Second Coming in such a way that it seemed to lie *immediately* behind and beyond the Fall of Jerusalem? It is not enough, assuredly, to exclaim, "If that was the case, our Lord was in fact mistaken, and that is incredible." We have to face the undoubted fact that the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Life-giver, the very Spirit of truth, spake by the Prophets; these Prophets constantly foresaw and foretold "the day of the Lord," and as constantly foresaw and fortold it in the near future, in connexion with political events then pending. It was the will of God, it was the work of the Holy Ghost, that they should thus see it, and thus speak of it, in strongly foreshortened "prophetic perspective." To disparage, as unworthy of God the Holy Ghost, such a method of revelation, because it offends our preconceived notions of what is fitting, comes perilously near to profanity. But if we have to allow it and accept it

[1] Compare the very frank but reverent treatment of this topic in Mr. Allen's volume on St. Matthew's Gospel in the *International Critical Commentary*.

humbly and reverently in the case of the older Prophets, why not in the case of The Prophet who stood confessedly in a certain predestined relationship towards the Old Dispensation as a Minister of the Circumcision ? It is acknowledged that our Lord was " sent," not only to the whole wide world to bring all men back to God, but also in a special way to the lost sheep of the House of Israel. It fell to Him as Son of Abraham and of David, in inaugurating a universal dispensation, to wind up the former local dispensation. If in this capacity He foresaw and foretold the end after the same fashion as the Prophets before Him, it is not surely to be wondered at. For reasons which we may recognize in part, it pleased the Father (who ever keeps the times and seasons within His own authority) that the end should always seem close at hand until the former Dispensation was swept away, until the Church Catholic was firmly settled upon its own base. In a word, the Spirit of prophecy saw its objective (and especially that consummation toward which it ever hastens) with extraordinary clearness of vision ; but it did *not* see the long tracts of time which lay between. It was by this Holy Spirit of prophecy that Jesus was anointed at His baptism. The limitation of knowledge which we find in the Incarnate Son, as it left Him true man in the presence of His brethren, so it enabled Him to reveal to them the things of God according to the will of God. It is probably true to say that man (being what he is) *could* not learn direct from an omniscient Being, but only from one whose knowledge is more or less limited and relative like his own. We conclude, with devout humility, that whatsoever was needful for us was shown to Him by the Father through the Spirit ; that the rest was left to the action of those laws which would determine (and, in determining, limit) the knowledge of a perfect man in that age and amongst that people. RAYNER WINTERBOTHAM.

THE CHRIST OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

III.

In two previous papers the attempt has been made to view the Christ of the Fourth Gospel in the aspect of a religious Personality. Nearly a century ago, Bretschneider in his *Probabilia* set the fashion, which critics have followed with painful reiteration, of regarding the conception of the Johannine Christ as founded on dogmatic presupposition rather than on psychological accuracy. " He makes everything turn on Himself; pre-existence is claimed; one with God He has shared the divine glory; He had come down from heaven in all the fulness of divine knowledge and might; He is about speedily to return to the throne on high " (*Probabilia*, p. 2. Cf. H. L. Jackson, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 161 ff.). In a similar strain, Wrede[1] claims that modern criticism has laid bare " the naked dogmatic granite " in this Gospel.

One leading effect of this interpretation of the Johannine Christ is that the *mind* of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel has ceased to interest, or to be regarded as of any value for the proper understanding of His character. It is held that when He thinks and acts and speaks in this Gospel, He is thinking and acting and speaking as the mind of the Church, led by St. Paul, conceived Him as doing. A case in point is the use of the term " Hour," " His Hour." There can be little doubt that the idea in the Fourth Gospel centres round the death of Jesus. The " hour " is come finally on Calvary, and any act on the part of Jesus that would tend to bring Him into public notice, or into collision with the authorities, is equally regarded as leading up to the " hour." If this Johannine conception is psychologically accur-

[1] *Charakter und Tendenz des Johannesevangeliums*, p. 11.

ate, the Gospel affords a peculiarly valuable contribution to our understanding of the consciousness of Jesus in regard to His own death. It emphasises the commanding place it seems to have taken in His thoughts all through His earthly ministry. On the other hand, the modern attitude towards the conception of the "hour" in relation to the death of Christ, tends to deprive it of any psychological value whatever. Its content is dogmatic, and not psychological. Jesus, it is said, is represented as exercising complete and sovereign control over His sufferings and death. "From the beginning, Jesus, as master of His own fate, has fixed His 'hour,' and Himself ordains all the conditions that will lead up to it" (E. F. Scott, *Fourth Gospel*, p. 169). "He ordered the events which seemed to human eyes to be coercing Him" (ibid. p. 170). Such is the interpretation put upon the words in x. 18: "No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again." Again, the freedom which Jesus is represented as exercising in regard to His sufferings and death is said to govern the whole narrative of the arrest. His captors fall to the ground at His voice. He does not allow Himself to be taken, but gives Himself up of His own freewill.[1] Are we justified in concluding from this that Jesus is "Master of His own fate, has fixed the 'hour,' and Himself ordains all the conditions that lead up to it"? Does this correctly and fully represent the meaning of 'power' or ἐξουσία in x. 18?

Dr. E. A. Abbott, in his *Johannine Vocabulary* (§ 1562), thus defines ἐξουσία. "It is very commonly found with 'give,'[2] and it generally means 'power that is delegated,' that is to say, not tyranny that is seized, but a right lawfully

[1] Wrede, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff.

[2] John i. 12, v. 27, xvii. 2, which all contain aorist ἔδωκα, and together with x. 18 and xix. 10–11, exhaust the uses of ἐξουσία in the Gospel.

given, or an office or magistracy duly and lawfully appointed." Indeed, the word is much better translated 'authority' (cf. Mark ii. 10, "that ye may know that the Son of Man hath *authority* on earth to forgive sins"). A very interesting passage in this connexion is xix. 10–11, part of the interview between Jesus and Pilate: "Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have authority to release thee, and have authority to crucify thee?" Jesus replies to Pilate: "Thou wouldest have no authority against me, except it were *given* thee from above; therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin." Not only is Pilate's false notion of ἐξουσία as mere despotic power corrected by the words of Jesus, but the whole narrative of Pilate's conduct is so conceived as to show that the apparent despot is really the victim of circumstances too strong for him. He wished to release Jesus, but the crowd threaten appeal to Caesar: "Thou art not Caesar's friend." "Pilate, *therefore*, hearing their words, brought Jesus forth" (verse 13). The cry rises again, "We have no king but Caesar." "He, *therefore*, delivered Him up to them to be crucified" (verse 16). (See Abbott, *op. cit.*, §§ 1562–94.)

It is apparent that in this passage we have an important clue to the sense in which the Evangelist understands the ἐξουσία of Jesus Himself. Pilate claims ἐξουσία in the sense of despotic power. Jesus is not represented as setting His own ἐξουσία over against that claimed by Pilate, but after the fashion of the Fourth Evangelist, the incident is seized as an opportunity for declaring the attitude of our Lord towards those very circumstances that seemed to be coercing Him. Both He and Pilate are in the hands of God. The ἐξουσία of Pilate is given him "from above" (ἄνωθεν), not in the sense that he derives it from the Emperor, but Pilate is an instrument in carrying out the decrees of God.

The crucifixion of Jesus is not the result of his power, but of the power of God, placed for the moment in his hands. On the other hand, much more than mere determinism is implied. Pilate has responsibility, but his responsibility, and in consequence his sin, are not so great as the responsibility and the sin of Caiaphas and his following. "He that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin" (xix. 11). At the same time, even Caiaphas is in the hands of a Higher Power (xi. 51).

The ethical content, then, of ἐξουσία is determined by the way in which the possessor reacts on what might be called his circumstances. Circumstances themselves are in accordance with the will of God, and to this extent, even in the Fourth Gospel, the action of Jesus is determined by human events. In what sense, and to what extent, determined? If we can answer these questions, or if we even try to answer them, so far we shall be able at least to enter into the problem that confronted the Fourth Evangelist. In the first place, the 'hour' of Jesus' death is determined not by Him but by the Father. To use words in a somewhat alien sense, "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels in heaven, but my Father only." It is simply unintelligible to give as a complete expression of the Evangelist's mind on this great idea of the 'hour' that Jesus "ordered the events which *seemed* to be coercing Him." Events *are* really coercing Him, but they can only coerce Him in accordance with the will of the Father. There is no real psychological confusion. Jesus of Nazareth is *not* sovereign as God is, and if "the Logos idea penetrates the actual reminiscence of the life of Christ" (Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 170), we can give no complete or intelligible account of the process by saying that a philosophical theory is allowed to bring confusion into a historical revelation in the actual incidents of the life of Jesus. The Evangelist claims to give

a coherent account of the consciousness of Jesus, however true it may be that he derives much of his material from Christian experience, or, as he himself would prefer to say, from the guidance of the Spirit of Truth. Events have no power over Jesus, either actually, or in His own mind, unless He allows them to influence Him, and He can only allow them to influence Him when He is assured that it is the Father's will that this should happen. The key to the position is found in the words, so often repeated, "I am come not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me."

Let us examine more in detail the three great passages in which the conception of the 'hour' is brought forward. Human events are of two kinds. There are the material events of life, and there are the influences that one person exercises on the life of another, by direct suggestion, or example, or the claims of affection. It is significant for the truly human, as against the superhuman, conception of the Christ of the Fourth Gospel, that in the three great passages where the hour of Jesus is represented as exercising either an openly expressed or an implied influence on his action, His freedom is asserted in opposition to the claims of human affection. These three cases are the suggestion of His mother (ii. 4); the request of His brethren (vii. 1–10); His affection for the family at Bethany, and the apparent contradiction of His delay in coming to them in their distress (xi. 1–16).

(1) ii. 1–12. The incident of the marriage at Cana is regarded as the first manifestation of the miraculous power of Jesus. In this sense it is the entrance upon a public ministry, and accordingly the first step towards the Cross. The Synoptics represent our Lord's Temptation as taking place in the loneliness of the wilderness. In solitude He ponders the use that He is called on to make of the miracu-

lous power that has come to consciousness, and in solitude He repels the sinister suggestions of the Tempter to use these powers for the purpose of outwardly impressing the nation, and realizing the current conceptions and expectations of the Messiah. Why, it may be asked, has it not been more emphasised by modern criticism, that just on this account the Person of Jesus, in so far as He was tempted, displays in the Synoptics a certain aloofness from humanity ? Has not the Fourth Evangelist given us a much more human picture of our Lord's Temptations ? Reverently we may ask whether it is not possible that a considerable part of our Lord's Temptation arose from the affectionate intercourse and interchange of thought between Himself and His mother on the very subject of His miraculous powers. Alongside the Synoptic picture of a wilderness temptation may well be set the picture, here implied, of a temptation arising from all that was dearest to the human heart of our Lord. In the request of His mother, in her silent appeal to His resources, " They have no wine," we have only her natural recourse to the miraculous power of One in whose heart the ordinary cares and anxieties of the home found a sympathetic place. Yet, for her, it is all a pathetic mistake, and for Him a temptation. Not even the claims or persuasions of human affection must be allowed to shape His action, least of all the first overt act in His public ministry. He, therefore, repels the suggestion of His mother in the words that have always so startled the Christian mind, " Woman, what have I to do with thee ? mine hour is not yet come." Only when she has tacitly recognised His independence of her suggestion in the command to the servants, " Whatsoever He saith unto you, do " (ii. 5), does He give the required aid. For Jesus, a new era is dawning, and such a step, even in response to human need and the call of human affection, can only be taken if He can clearly recognise the will of the

Father. Only on the call of the Father can He employ the miraculous power. "The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do" (v. 19). The 'hour' in this connexion is, of course, not used in the immediate sense of the hour of death. That idea is on the horizon, but the actual meaning the word would have for the mother of Jesus is that of a "divinely appointed moment." It is a moment pregnant with much fuller significance than she can fathom. It is the moment when Jesus openly declares Himself in all His power to the world. That moment can only be determined by God, and by the communication of His will to Jesus.

R. H. STRACHAN.

(*To be continued.*)

NEW TESTAMENT MIRACLES AND MODERN HEALINGS.

WHEN we picture to ourselves the scenes recorded in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, we cannot but feel the vivid contrast that exists between life then and now.

Then the unusual was frequent and the miraculous of daily occurrence. *Now* steady sequence in natural law rules and the normal persists.

We know that to many minds the miraculous element in the New Testament is a real difficulty, and leads some to refuse their assent to the trustworthiness of the records. We, who are able to accept generally the Gospel record as we find it, usually explain the presence of the miraculous at that time by holding that such an event as the Incarnation (an event which if it took place must be the central point of the world's history) would most fittingly be heralded, accompanied and followed by supernatural signs; and we explain the absence of the miraculous in our own time

by holding that, as the fact of the Incarnation has been sufficiently evidenced, and as the Church has been authoritatively established continuously to bear witness to the fact, no further need for miracles exists.

However, an opinion is gaining ground which, if established, will considerably modify this position. The extraordinary cures reported as wrought by Mental-Healing, Christian Science and other similar movements have led not a few to think that in these cures we have occurrences similar in nature to many of the cures wrought by our Lord and His early followers; and that, therefore, the cures recorded in the New Testament need no longer be regarded as strictly miraculous, but rather be viewed as applications by our Lord and His disciples of certain natural laws controlling mind and body which we are only now beginning to understand, and so to master: and it is further suggested that when our knowledge of these psychic laws is more fully developed we shall find our powers over human nature so increased as to enable us to perform most of the wonderful works described in the New Testament.

Now if this position be the true one, it follows that any difficulty that may have been felt regarding the contrast between the miraculous first ages of Christianity and these later ages is non-existent, for the so-called miraculous is resolved into the production of astounding effects through the greater grasp of knowledge of natural laws; and our Lord stands before us, in so far as His miraculous powers are concerned, not as One who has been proved by miracle to be the possessor of supernatural endowments, but either as One who possessed knowledge of the laws of the mental processes of human nature 2,000 years before any one else, or as One who, without any such premature knowledge, merely found Himself possessed of a power of curing disease,

the nature of which He Himself was ignorant of. To state such a situation is at once to demonstrate its paramount importance.

But, further, this question touches thus fundamentally not only dogma, it also touches practical ministerial life. For if our Lord's miracles were wrought by application of natural forces which we are learning to control, then the Church, as the representative of Her master, has to consider whether she should not be engaged in healing operations even as He was, and she is driven to ask whether her present inability to work such beneficent wonders may not be due to her deadness in faith and to her failing to claim from her Lord powers which He is only too ready to bestow. It is, we may suppose, to some such feeling as this that the desire in many quarters is due, to restore the rite of unction of the sick or laying-on-of-hands.

To form any clear opinion on the important matters thus brought before us, we must determine whether the cases of mental healing which are found to exist to-day have any true connexion with the curative miracles of our Lord and the apostolic Church. But before doing so, let me say that I think we ought to be on our guard against exaggerating the number of cures wrought to-day by Christian Science, spiritual healing or other such movements.

That some cures, and taken in the aggregate *many* cures, are wrought, none of us, I think, will doubt. But in judging the amount of relief and health such operations are bringing to human life, we are also to bear in mind the very much greater number of cases where nothing beneficent is wrought, or where pain has been increased and death produced by the application of these methods. By the constitution of our nature we are in all such matters liable to " count

the hits and neglect the misses." Bacon in the 5th Book of the *Novum Organum* (v. 4) says: "The nature of the understanding is more affected with affirmatives and actives than with negatives and privatives, though in justice it should be equally affected by both; but if things fall out right and keep their course, the mind receives a stronger impression of this than of a greater number of failures, or contrary events, which is the root of all superstition and credulity. Hence, Diagoras, being shown in Neptune's Temple many votive pictures of such as had escaped shipwreck, and thereupon asked by his guide if he did not acknowledge the Divine Power, answered wisely, 'But first show me where those are painted that were shipwrecked, after having thus paid their vows.'"

In other words, as I have said, we by nature are prone to count the hits and neglect the misses, and I have not the slightest doubt that the novelty and attraction of genuine cases of psychic-cures have led the world at large to credit this movement with a vastly greater amount of success than it at all deserves.

Let us now return to the question whether the Mental healings of to-day have any essential connexion with the miracles of our Lord and His Apostles.

First, I think we may hold our Lord's miracles were one and all wrought *along the line of Law*, that they were never contradictions of Law, but the result of His miraculous use of Law. Science demonstrates the universality of Law throughout the Universe; and we believe that the Word of God "by whom all things were made" and "in Whom all things consist" is Himself the Author and Force of that Law. If then a Mental-Healer by his skilful use of newly-discovered laws of mind, is enabled to cure a sick man, we acknowledge that Christ may also have healed a sick man by the very same laws. I say, "*may* have cured,"

not "*must* have cured"; for there may be many other laws which could have produced the same effect, and our Lord may have used those other laws.

But when this is acknowledged I believe all further connexion ceases. The modern healer's application of his science is *tentative*. He fails at times as well as cures at times. He is no more an absolute master of the forces he is using than the medical therapeutist is of the drugs he is using. But an essential note of a miracle is the absence of all *tentativeness*. If an act, however wonderful, is tentative, it there and then ceases to be a miracle. A miracle is essentially evidential of authority possessed by the worker of it; but the Tentative is the antithesis of the Authoritative.

In the miracles of Christ there is nothing tentative. He is disclosed in the Gospels as having absolute control over the forces of Nature. To Him it is no more easy to cure a paralytic than it is to raise the dead; He can walk on the water, still the raging of the sea and wind, feed five thousand with five loaves as certainly as He can make the dumb to speak. He is presented to us as having the entire world of Nature absolutely at His command.

Now the source of this unlimited power is declared by Him to be found in His unique relationship with His Father. He told those that witnessed His miracles that He and His Father were so essentially one, that the full power of the Godhead was His. "The Father abiding in me, doeth his works" (John xiv. 10). "What things soever the Father doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner" (John v. 19). That was His explanation of His miracles. Is it not clear that here we are removed a long way from tentative use of psychic forces by a Mental-Healer? Our Lord is not one working from the realm of Nature with the forces of Nature, but rather is one who from the spiritual realm is able to command the forces of Nature to obedience. His miracles

are not psychic or natural, but spiritual or supernatural. This distinction between the spiritual and the psychic is of great moment in connexion with the subject under discussion. No more important sentence occurs in the Report on Ministries of Healing appended to the Lambeth Encyclical of last year than the words "many need to be reminded that psychic forces are not the same as spiritual." No doubt it is difficult to differentiate them. From the unity of our being they act upon each other, and the resultant effects are often difficult to classify; but nevertheless the distinction is real, for the spiritual is a higher degree of reality than the psychical. "God is Spirit," and the spiritual part of our composite nature links us with the Being of God. By it we reach God, receive God. On the other hand, our soul, our psychical part, links us with finite conscious life; it includes those endowments of thought, emotion and will which in conjunction with our powers of body and spirit complete our personality. If, then, we bear in mind that the power of mind over mind has no necessary connexion with the religious side of human nature, we shall see that if any man is gifted with the power of mental healing, he has it, not as a spiritual grace, but as a natural endowment; just as he might have been granted a special endowment in connexion with the arts of music or painting. He may, and indeed ought, to cultivate that gift (as all his gifts) by the aid of prayer, and to consecrate it to the highest uses; but in itself the gift is psychical and not spiritual.

But if the healing works of our Lord are thus spiritual or supernatural, and so miraculous, how are we to classify the miracles wrought by His Apostles as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles? Now, when we study the words of the Apostles in reference to the miracles they perform, it is seen that they were convinced that they wrought them, not by

any inherent personal power, but in the name and by the power of their ascended Lord. When St. Peter fastened his eyes on the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, he said, " In the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk " (Acts. iii. 6); and when the crowd ran together, wondering at the cure wrought, he declared, " Why look ye on as though by our own power or godliness we had made him to walk? By faith in His Name hath His Name made this man strong."

It is clear that they believed that miraculous powers were granted to them by their Lord in fulfilment of His promises. The purpose for which they were thus endowed was to enable them to spread the Faith and securely establish the Church that was to guard it. And so when they were gathered together, we find that they prayed the following words: " Lord . . . grant unto thy servants to speak thy word with all boldness while thou stretchest forth thy hand to heal; and that signs and wonders may be done through the name of thy Holy Servant Jesus " (iv. 29).

Clearly, then, we must regard the miracles recorded in Acts as wrought by the power of God delegated to them through their ascended Lord, and so as a continuance of the miracles of Christ. Here, then, we are still in the spiritual, not in the psychical region. When, however, we come to the period that immediately followed the apostolic days, we find a markedly changed situation, the miraculous having practically ceased. The Gospels describing the Life of Christ are saturated with the miraculous. The Acts contain much that is miraculous, but to a less extent than the Gospels. The writings of the primitive Church are almost entirely without the miraculous; in them life has recurred to the normal.

In this connexion it is worth remarking that at the close of the Acts we have a hint that the author, Luke the Physi-

cian, was curing sickness with medical treatment, while Paul was exercising his miraculous powers. In the 28th chapter we are told that the Apostle, praying and laying hands on Publius, cured him, and that when this was done many others came to be healed. It appears that these latter were cured not only by St. Paul but by his companions as well, for we read they honoured "us" (not "him") with many honours. This change from the singular to the plural, together with the exact medical diagnosis of the disease of Publius, is taken by Harnack as pointing to the fact that Luke brought his medical skill to bear upon the sufferers. Professor Ramsay much strengthens this suggestion by pointing out the change in verbs used to describe the cures wrought. In the case of St. Paul's cure of Publius, we have *ἰάσατο*, that is, he was *cured*; whereas in the cases where Luke was associated with the Apostle we have *ἐθεραπεύοντο*, a word which in the strict sense (and Luke certainly used medical terms in a strict sense) means "*received medical treatment.* This interpretation is strongly corroborated in the EXPOSITOR (May, 1909), by Professor Moulton and Dr. Milligan; and if it be accepted, we have an interesting evidence of a return during the apostolic age to the treatment of sickness by recognised methods of medicine —a method not less truly from God than the miraculous.

We shall not, then, be surprised to find in *post-apostolic* writings an absence of the miraculous. In support of this position let me quote from Dean Bernard's article on Miracles in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.* He says: "It would not be surprising if we found in the literature of the early second century many references to miracles like those in Acts. Yet such references are few and scanty. . . . With a few notable exceptions there is no trace up to the end of the second century of any miraculous gifts still existing in the

primitive Church save those of *prophecy* and *healing*, including *exorcisms*, both of which are frequently mentioned." Doubtless what will, in the present connexion, most strike us in this quotation is the statement that though the miraculous generally is said to be wanting from the post-apostolic Church, yet that " healing " existed ; and we ask, were not these " healings " themselves miraculous ?

Such, however, is, I think, not the case. Of these " healings " the most frequent examples are cases of exorcisms ; but exorcisms are not necessarily miraculous, and they were by no means confined to the Christian Church. We find instances of them in the writings of Josephus and the Apocrypha. They thus occurred before the Incarnation. No doubt the power of exorcism, resident in the Church, was vastly more potent than any similar power existing outside of it ; yet the fact that it was not exclusively Christian separates it from the miracles of the New Testament.

The same must be remembered about healings other than exorcisms. No doubt these were present, both as to power and frequency, in the Church in a way not found elsewhere ; but nevertheless cases of healing sufficiently marvellous to excite amazement were found among those outside the true faith. Origen evidently thought that signs and wonders were wrought among the heathen, for he writes in controversy with Celsus : " Were I going to admit that a demon named Aesculapius had the power of healing bodily diseases I might remark . . . that such curative power is of itself neither good nor bad, but within the reach of the godless as well as honest folk . . . Many instances may be adduced of people being healed who did not deserve to live. The power of healing diseases is no evidence of anything specially divine " (*c. Celsus*, iii. 25 : cited by Harnack, *Expans. Christianity*, vol. i. 108). Bearing then in mind the fact that healings, *apparently* miraculous, have been wrought

to a certain extent without as well as within the Church, we are led to conclude that these healings of the primitive Church were psychic and not supernatural, and so come into line with cures wrought to-day by faith-healers rather than with the miracles of our Lord. We must remember that in describing them as psychic we are not denying that they were wrought by the Church in the very strength of God. The spirit of God in His mercy endowed certain members of the Body with psychic powers that enabled them to heal.

And if such powers were granted to those outside the Body, yet undoubtedly the Church was the true home for such gifts. Religious convictions strongly influence the psychical part of our nature, and therefore the Christian Religion, as being the strongest spiritual force, would most powerfully exert in the psychic region every beneficent psychic force. But the point we would strongly urge is, that if such healings, beneficent as they are, are psychic in nature, they are essentially distinct from the miraculous works of Christ and His Apostles; they are natural, not supernatural.

It is important to mark that St. Paul himself distinguished between the power of working miracles and the possession of gifts of healing. In 1 Corinthians xii. he gives a list of the various gifts with which the Church was endowed by the one Spirit. We read (ver. 8), "To one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom, and to another the word of knowledge . . . to another gifts of healings in the one Spirit, and to another workings of miracles." Here healings are differentiated from miracles. Nor can we say that the Apostle is merely rhetorically enumerating the various results of the Holy Spirit's activity which he saw around him without attempting carefully to classify them; for at the close of this chapter he twice repeats his list, and on both occasions again differentiates working of miracles

from gifts of healing. In verse 28 we have "God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, *then miracles, then gifts of healings*": and in verse 29, "Are all apostles, are all prophets, are all teachers, *are all workers of miracles, have all gifts of healings?*" This emphatic separation of working of miracles from gifts of healings is most remarkable, and can only be based on some essential distinction between them; and that distinction is, I believe, to be found in the fact that miracles are spiritual and healings psychical.

This, too, is probably the cause why healings are described as *gifts* (i.e. special personal endowments), while miracles are not so described. St. Paul's experience taught him that while he and other leaders of the Church were enabled, by the impartation of a measure of Christ's own supernatural powers, to work miracles, others were gifted with inherent psycho-therapeutic powers which enabled them to exercise healing functions upon the sick. (See Heb. ii. 4.)

We may conclude, therefore, that the phenomena of healings which meet us to-day are identical in nature with the psychic gifts of healings found in the days of the apostolic and primitive Church. Nor need we think that the centuries that divide us from those days were devoid of similar experiences. There is a superabundant wealth of statement regarding the miraculous during this period; and while the evidence for the majority of the so-called miraculous cures of the Middle Ages must be judged as insufficient, yet doubtless many genuine cases occurred wrought by the exercise of psychic powers granted to specially gifted members of the Church.

In one aspect, however, the modern position regarding such cures is markedly distinct from the primitive or mediaeval, for now the laws underlying the phenomena are, in a measure, understood and systematised, and thus are placed more or less under our control.

Of these discovered laws, one in particular must have a strong influence on the Church's attitude, namely, the ascertained fact that religious sentiment, belief and practice have a most important place in the application of psychic forces for the restoration of health. We have learned that the state of mind has a great influence on the recuperative powers that exist in human nature. Fretfulness, rebellion of will, hopelessness of recovery, all tend to render the physician's treatment less likely of success; while cheerfulness, hopefulness of outlook, patience, truthfulness aid him in his battle against disease. But these latter are Christian virtues; and therefore it follows that the convinced and consistent Christian has, other things being equal, an increased likelihood of recovering health: and it further follows that if a man be gifted by God with the power of psychic healing, he is much more likely to succeed in his attempts in a Christian atmosphere than in an atmosphere where the peace of the Gospel is unknown.

To those who exercise pastoral functions, this must be a consideration of great moment. The pastor may not, during his ministry, happen to come across a healer; but he is daily in touch with the physician, and it should be part of his aim to strive by pastoral counsel to lead the sick into such a state of peaceful contentment with Divine Providence as to render the work of the physician more likely of success.

Further, since the gift of healing is an endowment which the Spirit giveth "where it listeth," and has been found in the past to be possessed by those who rejected the Christian Faith as well as by those who accepted it, it is evident that it cannot be in any way considered as specifically belonging to the Ministry of the Church as such. Yet, some cleric may happen to find himself endowed with the psychic powers that heal; but if so, he must regard it not as an endowment necessarily connected with his minis-

terial office, but as a gift to be used like any other natural gift, prayerfully, and for the glory of God, and also, considering the weighty matters at stake, only to be used in consultation with skilled medical practitioners.

But while the power of healing is a special gift that belongs to but a few, another means of beneficent dealing with the sick lies at the hand of all. Prayer to Almighty God for the restoration of health should enter largely into the intercessions of the Church.

In the exercise of this function of the Church, we are raised above the psychical and natural into the spiritual and supernatural. We are in the same realm as the miracles of Christ. Not that answers granted to prayer are miracles; they lack the authoritative certainty and the evidential value of the true miracle; but both have this in common, that they are the result of the direct interposition of the volition of God. The man who has been granted a propitious answer to his prayer for the health of another has not exercised any peculiar psychic power with which he is endowed, but he has been enabled by faith to enter into the spiritual realm, to reach God, and to move God to exert His healing force. It may be that the Church has been in the past too slow to realise the lofty powers that are thus placed within the scope of her ministry, and that her ministrations have been too exclusively confined to the edification of the soul of the patient. If so, it would be well for her to practise more constantly and with more spiritual concentration the Prayer of Faith for the Healing of the Sick. Necessarily, it must be remembered at such times and impressed upon those ministered to, that God, who sees far beyond the limits of our finite vision, may see that to grant the request for health may be contrary to what is really best. Sickness is often a blessing, and its removal may be a very real

calamity. But still the fact remains that God *does* answer prayer for health, and that in such intercession the Church has a true ministry for healing ; may we not say her *chief* ministry of healing ? And as such answers to prayer may reach us not only by God's direct action on the sufferer, but also by His indirect action through sound medical treatment—or deliberate psychical influence—it follows that prayer in no sense supersedes the physician's care, or the healer's gifts, but rather that the clergyman, physician and healer are co-workers in a holy alliance.

One other point needs consideration. Inasmuch as prayer is a potent power to restore health, the question arises whether it would not be wise that some symbolic act should accompany the prayer.

We know that St. James bids the elders of the Church to be sent for in order that they may pray over the sick and anoint them with oil. As we are told that it is the prayer of faith and not the oil that " saves the sick," we may assume that the anointing was added because, by its well-known curative effects, it would help, as by symbolism, the patient to believe in the reality of the application of the power of prayer to his own case. Why should not we, then, add unction to our prayers for the sick ?

It is remarkable that in addition to this passage in James and the statement that the Twelve anointed and healed many that were sick (Mark vi. 13), no other allusion is made in the New Testament to Unction. There is no record of its use by our Lord or by His Apostles after Pentecost. On the contrary, our Lord usually employed in healing the symbolism of laying on of hands (Mark v. 23, vi. 5, vii. 32, etc.) ; and His followers, as recorded in Acts, acted similarly. Ananias restored the sight of Saul of Tarsus, and Paul healed Publius with the laying on of hands (Acts ix. 12 and 17, xxviii. 8). Further, as regards the early Church,

there is little or no evidence of unction being in general use. Tertullian indeed records that the Emperor Severus had been cured by a Christian by "means of oil," and in gratitude had kept the healer in his palace until the day of his death (*Ad Scap.* 4); but on the other hand, Irenæus only mentions unction as a practice among heretics in his day (*Ad Haer.* i. 21, 5). It seems probable that, as regards the first ages of the Church, anointing with oil was confined to the Judaistic section over which St. James presided. In the words of the Lambeth Encyclical of last year, "There is no clear proof of the use of unction for the sick in the Church until the fourth century." In view of these facts, then, it seems that if the Church to-day seeks for a symbolic act to accompany "the prayer of faith" she would be more closely following the apostolic and primitive use in adopting not unction, but the laying on of hands. While, then, we must emphasise the truth that the healing power sought comes directly from our Heavenly Father, yet in not a few cases I believe the hand may be laid with deliberate intent on the sick, as a means of helping both him who prays and him for whom he prays to realise the definiteness of the spiritual act in which they are engaged when pleading with God for the gift of health.

CHARLES T. P. GRIERSON.

"SHOULD THE MAGNIFICAT BE ASCRIBED TO ELISABETH?"

IT has always been known to textual critics that there is a remarkable variant in St. Luke i. 46, according to which the Magnificat is ascribed to Elisabeth instead of to the Virgin Mary. It is discussed in Westcott and Hort's *Notes on Select Readings*, and has been the subject of various articles in Germany and France, but it has not until

latterly attracted much attention in England. The point is not even mentioned in Plummer's *Commentary on St. Luke*, nor does there seem to be any reference to it in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible;* certainly there is no article on the subject. It is, however, discussed shortly by Schmiedel in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (*s.v.* Mary), and at more length by Bishop Wordsworth and Dr. Burkitt in Dr. Burn's *Niceta of Remesiana* (1905). But probably not a few have had their attention first drawn to the point by a passing remark in Harnack's *Lukas der Arzt* (p. 72, cf. p. 140), and the whole question is treated fully by Loisy in *Les Evangiles Synoptiques* (Intro., p. 265, and Com. i. pp. 302 ff.). The most comprehensive discussion in English would seem to be an exhaustive article by Dr. A. E. Burn in the second volume of the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (*s.v.* Magnificat).

It may then be of use to put together the facts and the arguments on both sides. Did St. Luke attribute the Magnificat to Mary or Elisabeth? The question is of importance from its bearing on the validity of the generally received critical text of the New Testament, and it also has a sentimental side which will not be ignored by those who are in the habit of using the hymn in public worship.

I. *The Evidence for the Reading.* In the introduction to the Magnificat in St. Luke i. 46 all our MSS., Greek and Latin, read *καὶ εἶπεν Μαριάμ* ("and Mary said"), except three Old Latin MSS. (*a*, *b*, and *l* [1]), which have *Elisabeth*. These three form, according to Burkitt, "a typical European group"; i.e., they tend to be found in agreement, and their combined evidence should be regarded as single rather than three-fold. All other Versions have the ordinary reading, as have the Fathers, except Irenaeus, Origen, and Niceta. Some doubt, however, attaches to the evidence of the first

[1] Sometimes quoted as *rhe*.

two. In the passage in question from Irenaeus (*Haer.* iv. 7, 1) *Elisabeth* is read by two MSS., while a third has *Maria*, and in iii. 10, 2 Irenaeus unquestionably attributes the Magnificat to Mary ; hence Burn and Loisy agree that in the former passage the reading *Elisabeth* is probably due to his translator or to a copyist. The reference in Origen is by way of a note on the reading,[1] and critics are divided as to whether it is to be attributed to him or to his translator Jerome ; but in either case it is important additional evidence of the existence of the reading *Elisabeth* in St. Luke. With regard to Niceta there is no doubt. Twice over he speaks of Elisabeth as the author of the Magnificat, and in one case adds the epithet " diu sterilis." He lived at the close of the fourth century, and in his quotations represents generally the Latin Bible just before Jerome's revision, using a type of text " not very much unlike *b* " (one of the MSS. which has the variant), and therefore " does not add very much to the weight of evidence for the ascription to Elisabeth, except in so far as he shows that the tradition was more widespread and persistent at the end of the fourth century than we might otherwise have supposed."[2] It is noticeable too that as a liturgiologist (he is supposed to have been the author of the Te Deum) he saw nothing incongruous in attributing the hymn to Elisabeth.

It is obvious then that the textual evidence for the new reading is very slight, but it would be wrong to brush it aside at once. There are two considerations to be borne in mind : (*a*) The type of text associated with the names of Westcott and Hort no longer has the field to itself. Textual critics are giving increasing weight to much of what is known as

[1] *In Luc. hom. vii.* : " Invenitur beata Maria, sicut in aliquantis exemplaribus reperimus, prophetare. Non enim ignoramus quod secundum alios codices et haec verba Elisabeth vaticinetur. Spiritu itaque sancto tunc repleta est Maria."

[2] Burkitt in Burn, *Niceta*, p. cliii.

the "Western" text; in particular it is held that the Old Latin and Syriac often preserve readings current in the second century, the fact being that the text of the Gospels may well have been for some time in a fluid state. The question is still *sub judice*, and must be left to the experts. Probably most of us feel a prejudice in favour of the Westcott and Hort type, as at least giving us a fixed basis on which to work. And we are at any rate justified in our present state of knowledge in hesitating before we accept a reading which has *no* Greek evidence in its favour. There is, indeed, no case where critics have done so with any unanimity. It is at the same time of great importance to realise that the text of the New Testament cannot by any means be regarded as finally fixed, and that we may be called upon to revise our views on the subject.[1]

(*b*) In the case before us the nature of the variant forbids our rejecting it at once. It seems to be too widely spread to be ascribed to a slip of the pen,[2] and it is obviously improbable that *Elisabeth* should ever have been substituted for *Mary*, whilst the reverse is possible enough.[3] On the

[1] St. Matthew i. 16 may serve as an example of the type of case in which there is an increasing agreement among critics that no Greek MS. preserves the original reading; but there the evidence of corruption is far greater than in the case we are considering.

[2] Nestle, however (*Intro. N. T. Crit.*, p. 238) apparently considers the variant to be due to mere carelessness.

[3] We may note that *b* plays a somewhat prominent part in the important readings connected with the Virgin Birth. But, unfortunately, the tendency of its variants is so divided that it is hard to discover any bias on the part of the scribe. On the one hand, we have this variant "Elisabeth," which *might* be due to a desire to depreciate the position of Mary. Similarly in St. Mark vi. 3 *b* reads "son of the Carpenter" instead of "Carpenter" (cf. St. Matt. xiii. 53 and St. Luke iv. 22); in St. Luke ii. 5 it has "wife" instead of "fiancée," and in St. Matthew i. 16 an apparently intermediate reading with *genuit*, whilst in verses 19, 20 and 24 it does not share the variations of Syr^{Cur} which emphasise the Virgin Birth. Most striking of all, in St. Luke i. 34 it stands alone in substituting for "How shall this be? etc.," the words of verse 38, "Behold the handmaid, etc." From these instances one might be tempted to suppose in this MS. some hesitation with regard to the Virgin Birth. But in other cases we have variations

other hand, the evidence for *Mary* is far too strong (including, e.g., Tertullian) and that for *Elisabeth* too weak to allow us to suppose the latter to have been the original reading. The conclusion of the majority of recent critics is that the real reading is καὶ εἶπεν ("and she said"), from which the variants were derived by way of gloss. Whilst by no means accepting this view as final, for the reasons stated under (*a*), we may adopt it as a provisional hypothesis. A further question at once arises. If there was originally no name, which gloss is right? Burn and Wordsworth say "Mary," Burkitt, Harnack, Loisy, Schmiedel, etc., "Elisabeth." The question can only be answered on internal and grammatical considerations.

II. *Grammatical Considerations.* (*a*) It is said that καὶ εἶπεν standing alone must refer to Elisabeth as the last speaker. This is more than doubtful. Mary is the prominent figure, and usage is not decisive as to whether the phrase may or may not be used when the speaker changes. Wordsworth[1] finds it in accordance with Hebraic and Septuagint idiom to omit the name of the fresh speaker in such a case. Probably most readers reading the paragraph as a whole will feel that it is impossible to pronounce decisively for either speaker on these grounds.

(*b*) If the introduction is inconclusive, can we gain a clearer light from the subscription? The Magnificat is followed by the words, "And Mary abode with her about three months and returned to her house." *Primâ facie* these words undoubtedly suggest that Elizabeth and not

with an exactly opposite tendency. In St. Luke ii. 33, 41 it substitutes "Joseph" for "father" or "parent," and in particular in St. John i. 13 it is the only MS. which has preserved the reading "qui . . . natus est," a reading which, *pace* Loisy (*Qume Ev.*, p. 180), seems to imply the miraculous conception. The phenomena, then, are too contradictory to allow of our ascribing any uniform bias to the MS. in question.

[1] In Burn's *Niceta*, p. clvi.

Mary has been the speaker in the preceding verses, and yet this conclusion is by no means certain, the repetition of Mary's name after so many verses being entirely natural and serving to mark the whole section as a "Mary section." We can, however, go further than this. It has not been sufficiently emphasised that the verse looks forward at least as much as back; it connects with v. 57, "Now Elisabeth's full time came that she should be delivered," and this has decided the form of the preceding sentence. It would have been awkward to say, "ἔμεινεν δὲ σὺν Ἐλεισάβετ . . ." ("she remained with E.") τῇ δὲ Ἐλεισάβετ ἐπλήσθη ("and E.'s full time came"), while ἐπλήσθη δὲ αὐτῇ would have been ambiguous. Taking the verses together, the "Mary" at the beginning of the first marks the close of the "Mary section," and is answered by the "Elisabeth" at the beginning of the second, marking the commencement of an "Elisabeth section." The verses have, in fact, received the best literary form possible and contain nothing incompatible with the ascription of the Magnificat to the Virgin. At the same time the fact that the grammar is superficially in favour of "Elisabeth" may have been the cause, as Westcott and Hort suggest, of the substitution of her name for Mary's in v. 46.

III. *Internal Evidence.* (*a*) It is quite obvious that a main source of the Magnificat was Hannah's song in 1 Samuel ii., and it is equally obvious that whatever the real origin of that song (it is not as a whole appropriate to Hannah's situation, and has been supposed to be the song of a warrior), St. Luke, Mary, or Elisabeth, would all believe it to be her's without question. The resemblance between the two has furnished a strong argument in favour of the ascription of the Christian hymn to Elisabeth. Hannah's song of praise is inspired by the fact that Jehovah has removed from her the reproach of childlessness; the parallel is with

the situation of Elisabeth, not with that of Mary. True, but no critic seems to have pointed out that *the only words in Hannah's song which are really appropriate to Elisabeth are entirely unrepresented in the Magnificat.* These are v. 5*b*, "Yea, the barren hath borne seven, and she that hath many children languisheth." Surely these words, even if not literally applicable, must have found an echo in the Magnificat, if it had been by Elisabeth, the more so as the first half of this very verse is fully represented ("They that were full have hired out themselves for bread; and they that were hungry have ceased"). The omission is almost inexplicable if the Magnificat is attributed to Elisabeth, whilst it is perfectly natural under the ordinary view; the words were quite inappropriate in Mary's mouth.

(*b*) With regard to the language of the Magnificat itself, the most distinctive verse is v. 48. The opening words ("For He hath regarded the lowliness of His handmaiden"), though true of Elisabeth, ταπείνωσις being used of the reproach of childlessness (cf. 1 Sam. i. 11), recall Mary's "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word" (v. 38). It may be true that the second half of the verse ("For behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed"), if divested of the fullness of meaning which Christians have found in it, is, as Loisy maintains, possible in the mouth of Elisabeth [1] (cf. Leah in Gen. xxx. 13). But there is no question that it is far more appropriate to the mother of the Messiah, and is the natural answer to Elisabeth's "Blessed art thou among women" (v. 42) and "Blessed is she that believed" (v. 45).

(*c*) Passing to the general situation, we are told that the Magnificat regarded as the utterance of Elisabeth is in exact correspondence with the Benedictus as spoken by her husband Zacharias, when he too is filled with the Holy Ghost

[1] *Les Evangiles Synoptiques*, i. p. 305.

(v. 67, cf. v. 41). But in the latter hymn the central thought is the coming of the Messiah of whom the child is the forerunner. If, however, the Magnificat belongs to Elisabeth, it is her own personal happiness and exultation which becomes a main theme and the occasion of the song. The emphasis laid on her own joy in verses 46–49 is quite out of keeping with the subordinate position which she assumes in verses 41–45. There can indeed be no doubt that Mary is intended to be the real centre of the picture; if she is deprived of the Magnificat, she is left on this occasion absolutely silent. Burkitt suggests that the "*Λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών* more corresponds to the fitness of things than a burst of premature song."[1] It is not, however, very obvious why the song should be more "premature" as spoken by Mary than by Elisabeth, and the mystic fitness seen in her supposed silence is perhaps a little subtle. It is natural that she should reply to Elisabeth's salutation, and it seems something of a "modernism" to suppose that a first century writer would have seen a profounder significance in her not doing so.

Our conclusion, then, is that we need have little hesitation in believing the ordinary view to be correct. It is by no means certain that the accepted reading is wrong; and even if we assume an original *καὶ εἶπεν*, it will still remain probable that St. Luke intended Mary to be understood as the speaker of the Magnificat.

This last phrase has been deliberate. Nothing that has been said touches the question of the real authorship and ultimate origin of the hymn. We have been dealing with a question of "Lower Criticism." What did the author of the Third Gospel actually write, and what did he mean to be understood by his words? The further and more important question belongs to the "Higher Criticism." Who

[1] *O.C.*, p. cliv.

really wrote the Magnificat ? Is it a free composition of St. Luke himself ? Or is it a Jewish hymn which he found in some source and adapted for his purpose ? Or does it really rest upon words spoken by Mary on this or a later occasion ? The question is part of the wider problem of the nature and origin of the first two chapters of St. Luke, and lies beyond the purpose of the present article. But one remark may be allowed. As has been often pointed out, the character of the Canticles is strongly in favour of their substantial authenticity. On the one hand the vagueness of the language and the lack of definite prediction suggest that they were not deliberately composed at a later date to fit the supposed circumstances ; it would have required but little ingenuity to write something which superficially at least would have been far more appropriate. On the other hand, they do reflect in a marvellous way the general hopes and the temper of the circle from which they claim to have sprung. Dr. Sanday[1] has called attention to " the extraordinary extent to which these chapters hit the attitude of expectancy which existed before the public appearance of Christ. It is not only expectation, and tense expectation, but expectation that is essentially Jewish in its character." It is hard to believe that either St. Luke, or any other Christian poet, could have had the dramatic genius, for it required no less, to think himself back so completely into the temper and circumstances of a very peculiar and very brief period of transition, unless he had considerable and authentic materials to guide him. The argument may not be decisive, but it must at least be taken into account in any solution of the problem of these two chapters which is to claim to be final.

C. W. Emmet.

[1] *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, p. 165.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

V. The Crucifixion.

Coming now to the account which our Evangelist gives of the Crucifixion, we observe that there is nothing in it which conflicts in any way with the picture which the Synoptists portray for us. The Fourth Gospel contains much information not to be found in the Synoptists, and is markedly independent of them. It is in this Gospel only that we are told that the title on the cross was written in Hebrew, Latin and Greek, and it is from it that we learn of the altercation between the Jews and Pilate as to the form of wording of the title. It must be allowed that this has all the appearance of historical truth. The account given of the distribution of the garments of Jesus among the soldiers is more fully told than in the other Gospels, this being easily explained, on the theory of the Johannine authorship, by the presence of the Evangelist at the scene; for it is immediately afterwards that he tells of the women at the cross along with the disciple whom Jesus loved. It is, however, open to objectors to say that the story of the partition of the garments among the soldiers is an embellishment of that given in the other Gospels in order to make the event square with the prophecy which the Evangelist quotes:

> They parted my garments among them,
> And upon my vesture did they cast lots.

The incident of the women and the beloved disciple at the cross is also open to the criticism of objectors on the ground that our Evangelist brings them near to the cross, whereas Mark and Matthew speak of certain women looking on, but only from far off. It is, however, not impossible that these faithful women did approach the cross as our Evange-

list represents. But it is hardly likely that they would be there the whole time. They may well have retired when the beloved disciple took Mary, the mother of Jesus, to his house as he seems to have done immediately (xix. 27). The other women may have returned to view the scene from afar and have afterwards taken part in the burial as St. Luke reports. It is certainly a point worthy of notice that the women mentioned in Mark and Matthew as watching from far off can be satisfactorily identified with those (other than the Lord's mother) standing by the cross in the Fourth Gospel.

Mark and Matthew give the names of Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses, and Salome. In the Fourth Gospel we have, besides Mary the mother of Jesus, his mother's sister, not named, Mary the wife of Clopas and Mary Magdalene. There is a way of interpreting the Evangelist's words so that Mary the wife of Clopas would be identical with the sister of the mother of Jesus. This does not commend itself to me, for the interpretation would require two sisters to bear the same name. I adopt Westcott's understanding of the passage and take it that the Evangelist mentions four women : (1) the mother of Jesus, (2) His mother's sister, (3) Mary the wife of Clopas, (4) Mary Magdalene.

Now Mary the wife of Clopas is satisfactorily identified with Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses, for James was the son of Alphaeus (Mark iii. 18), and it seems likely that Clopas and Alphaeus are Greek equivalents of a common Aramaic.

Thus the four women mentioned by our Evangelist will be the mother of Jesus and the same three women named by Mark and Matthew, provided that Salome be identical with the sister of the mother of Jesus. And such I take her to have been. Our Evangelist, whom we identify with St,

John, does not name his own mother Salome, but describes her as the sister of Jesus' mother. Such an indirect description agrees with his usual manner, which, as we have seen, forbids him to name himself.

Westcott has pointed out that the identification of Salome with the sister of Jesus' mother helps us to understand better why Jesus should have intrusted His mother to the care of St. John, this being explained by the relationship between them.

A careful examination, then, of this particular section of our Gospel reveals an agreement with the Synoptists too subtle to explain except on the hypothesis that we have here the record of an actual occurrence. If this be not history, but only an ideal presentation of the devotion of the writer who impersonates the beloved disciple, then it must be admitted that the picture he gives is one of consummate art. From a comparison of this passage with the Synoptists we are confirmed in our belief that our Evangelist is indeed John the son of Zebedee. But if not, he has wished to make it appear that he was. Would he, we may ask, if he had had such a purpose have carried it out disguisedly ? The dignified self-suppression of the narrative is explicable on the theory of the Johannine authorship. It is not easy to explain it on a theory of impersonation.

If it be the case that the beloved disciple retired at once from the cross after the mother of Jesus had been intrusted to his care, we can understand why he passes over much that must have occurred before the point at which he resumes his story as the end was now approaching. He may well have returned to the scene again and have heard the word of Jesus which he next records. A new section begins with the words " after this " (*μετὰ τοῦτο*). This manner of linking together the parts of his story with the words *μετὰ τοῦτο* or *μετὰ ταῦτα* is characteristic of the Evangelist

(ii. 12, v. 1, vi. 1, vii. 1, xxi. 1). It may be, as has been thought, that there is a shade of distinction between μετὰ τοῦτο and μετὰ ταῦτα, the former implying a closer connexion than the latter with what has gone before. We do not, however, take it that μετὰ τοῦτο expresses an immediate sequence in point of time.

"After this," says the Evangelist, "Jesus knowing that all things were now finished that the scripture might be accomplished, saith, I thirst." Now here again it may be objected that it is in his desire to see prophecy fulfilled that our Evangelist puts into the mouth of Jesus words which He did not really speak. And it may be said that one who writes history can record what has happened but he cannot read the mind of his heroes beyond what they express in words. But here the Evangelist says that Jesus knew that all things were now finished. Is not this going beyond what the actual occurrence and the spoken words warrant?

It must of course be allowed, and it has already been admitted, that our Evangelist is doing more than writing history. In going beyond the mere recording of events, he may or may not have rightly interpreted the mind and person of Christ. We must make a clear distinction between his statements of fact and his comments upon them, or the conclusions he draws from them. If he records that Jesus said something, he is making a historical statement; if he says that Jesus thought or knew something, he is drawing a conclusion. In investigating the historical value of the Gospel before us we are concerned primarily with its statements of fact. A book may be true historically, but the conclusions drawn by the author from the facts may be false, or, at any rate, open to question.

In describing the scene in the garden the Evangelist records that Jesus went forward to meet those who had come to arrest Him, and he says that Jesus did this, knowing all

things that were coming upon Him. We can accept this last statement respecting the knowledge of Jesus, because His words reported both by the Synoptists and in the Fourth Gospel respecting His coming sufferings and death are a sufficient justification of it. We may not be able in all cases to verify the Evangelist's statements of what Jesus thought and knew, because we do not know all that He said, but it must be remembered that if the Evangelist was indeed a personal disciple, then he had peculiar opportunities for knowing and entering into the mind of his Master, and it would be simply impossible for him to communicate fully to any other person all the detailed reasons which had led him to certain conclusions. He could do it in some measure but never fully.

Consider, for example, his words in ii. 23–25. He says that when Jesus was in Jerusalem, during the feast, " many believed on his name beholding his signs which he did. But Jesus did not trust himself unto them, for that He knew all men, and because he needed not that any one should bear witness concerning man ; for he himself knew what was in man." Now plainly the Evangelist could not detail all the reasons that had led him to this conclusion respecting the knowledge Jesus had of men. He incidentally gives instances of it in his Gospel—e.g., Nathanael, the woman of Samaria, Judas Iscariot—but we naturally suppose that his own conclusions were drawn from a larger experience than he could possibly record.

With these considerations in mind we will return to the section of our Gospel which is now properly before us (xix. 28–30). Let us look first at the statement of historical fact, supposing it to be fact. It is this : " Jesus said, I thirst. There was set there a vessel full of vinegar : so they put a sponge full of vinegar upon hyssop and brought it to his mouth. When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he

said, It is finished : and he bowed his head and gave up his spirit."

Now there is certainly nothing antecedently improbable in what is here stated. The torments of thirst were a usual experience of those who were crucified, and we learn from the Synoptists that ' vinegar ' was at hand in this particular case. There is nothing impossible then in the statement of our Evangelist that Jesus, tormented by thirst, wished that something should be given Him to drink. Nor can we argue that this incident did not take place because the other Evangelists do not record it, though the question naturally arises whether our Evangelist is not merely giving another version of the story given by the Synoptists, that when Jesus uttered His great and bitter cry, " My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? " one of the bystanders ran and dipped a sponge in vinegar and offered it to Him to drink. But the rest said : Let be. Let us see whether Elias (whom they thought that Jesus had been summoning) will come to help Him. But I cannot see any adequate reason for such a supposition as this. Why should we suppose that the vinegar, specially set there for the sufferers, was only offered once to Jesus ? That our Evangelist says nothing of the Eli incident may be explained by the fact that it was already recorded in the other Gospels, and his account of the crucifixion seems of set purpose to supply details which they do not give. Or it may be explained if we suppose that he records here just the things of which he had personal experience, and we have seen reason to think that he may have been absent from the scene for some time.

Then there is the further statement of our Evangelist that Jesus spoke the word : It is finished (τετέλεσται). And this is perfectly possible, for all the Synoptists record that He cried with a loud voice, though they do not give the word spoken. And St. Luke records that after He had thus cried, he

said : " Father, into thy hands I commend (παρατίθεμαι) my spirit " ; while our Evangelist tells us that after He had said, " It is finished," he bowed His head and gave up (παρέδωκεν) " his spirit." It is true he records no words with which this surrender of the spirit was made. It does not follow that he did not know that any words were spoken, seeing that he must have known them from St. Luke's Gospel, nor, on the other hand, need we suppose that St. Luke put into the mouth of Jesus these words which He never really spoke.

I can see nothing, then, historically improbable, either on *a priori* grounds or by reason of the Synoptic narratives, in these two words of Jesus which our Evangelist records, namely, " I thirst " and " It is finished."

We have then only to consider the Evangelist's setting, so to speak, of this picture. We must take account of his exact statement : " Jesus knowing that all things were now finished (τετέλεσται), that the Scripture might be accomplished (τελειωθῇ) saith, I thirst."

It must be observed that the verb used in the sentence ' that all things were now finished ' is the very same word as that afterwards spoken by Jesus when He said, 'It is finished.' If then Jesus did really utter this word, as the Evangelist says He did, we need not dispute the statement made by him that Jesus knew that all things were finished. The question, however, naturally arises : Why did the Evangelist make this statement respecting the knowledge of Jesus when he is going almost immediately afterwards to record the word spoken ? It is perhaps not possible for us to answer this question, but we must give it our consideration.

First, we must mention the uncertainty of connexion of the words ' that the scripture might be accomplished ' in the context. Do they belong to the words preceding them or to those that follow ? Are we to understand that Jesus knew that all things were finished for the accomplishment

of the Scriptures when He said, 'I thirst,' or are we to interpret our clause so that it would give the meaning that Jesus said, I thirst, in order that the scripture might be accomplished?

In favour of the second of these two interpretations we have the fact that it accords with the manner of our Evangelist, who finds in the several details of the passion the fulfilment of prophecy (xix. 24, 36, 37). But on the other hand there must be set against this the apparent contradiction involved if this interpretation be adopted. For it may be said that Jesus could not be said to know that all things were already finished if, as yet, there remained one prophecy unfulfilled. Westcott, however, does not think this difficulty serious. For he remarks that the thirst was already felt. The Old Testament language is: "When I was thirsty they gave me vinegar to drink." The prophecy then would be fulfilled, so far as Jesus was concerned, by the feeling of thirst. It could only be accomplished entirely when expression was given to this feeling so that the need felt could be met by the offer of drink. Westcott, however, says: "The fulfilment of the scripture was not the object which the Lord had in view in uttering the word, but there was a necessary correspondence between His acts and the divine foreshadowing of them." If we accept this statement of the case, then the words, 'that the scripture might be accomplished' become parenthetical, and Jesus did not utter the words 'I thirst' for the finishing of His work, but all things were already finished and He knew them so to be. In this case the statement of the Evangelist that Jesus knew that all things were now finished is equally absolute if the words 'that the scripture might be accomplished' belong to them or carry the reader on to what follows; and for the statement the Evangelist has, to justify him, the fact that Jesus Himself afterwards uttered the word τετέλεσται.

But then we ask: What is the point of our Evangelist saying that Jesus knew that all things were now finished, if he is going to record just afterwards that Jesus said, "It is finished"? I should answer his question, without, I hope, any seeming irreverence, by saying that in the mind of the Evangelist the knowledge which Jesus had was the justification for His giving utterance to His own personal physical need. Though the bodily sufferings of the crucifixion were so severe, yet Jesus did not allow His mind to turn to them until all things were finished. When He knew that He had done all that was required of Him, and not until then, He asked for some bodily relief in saying, 'I thirst.' And even in His request, the Evangelist seems to say, Jesus was but fulfilling what had been foretold.

I take it then that when Jesus said, 'I thirst,' He meant just exactly what He said. I can accept no mystical interpretation of the words. He felt the awful torments of thirst and asked for alleviation; He did not refuse the vinegar when it was offered, though when hung upon the cross He had refused the myrrh intended to stupefy the senses. All that He had passed through had brought with it a feeling of exhaustion which He appeals to the pity of some bystander to remove. In the hour of death, true to the principle of His life, He worked no miracle for His own relief.

We now pass to the account our Evangelist gives of what took place at Golgotha after the death of Jesus. He alone of all the Evangelists records the request of the Jews made to Pilate that the legs of those crucified might be broken. This request they made because it was the preparation, and they would not that the bodies should remain on the cross on the Sabbath day—that Sabbath Day being a high day. The request being granted, the soldiers came and brake the legs of the one and of the other crucified with Jesus, "but when

they came to Jesus Himself and saw that He was dead already they brake not His legs. But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side and straightway there came out blood and water." Then follows the Evangelist's solemn attestation: "And he that hath seen it hath borne witness, and his witness is true (ἀληθινή): and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe." And then he adds: "These things came to pass that the scripture might be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken. And again another scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced."

It is open to objectors to the historicity of our Gospel to say that the writer here again invents his facts to square with prophecy. But surely there is nothing at all improbable in this account; and though we have here statements of fact not given by the Synoptists, there is nothing which conflicts with their less full accounts. The only possible point of conflict that I can see would be in regard to the statement made by Mark that, when Joseph of Arimathæa went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus, Pilate marvelled if He were already dead; and calling unto him the centurion he asked him whether he had been any while dead. And when he learned it of the centurion, he granted the corpse to Joseph.

Now the request of Joseph must have preceded that made by the Jews that the legs of those crucified might be broken, for Pilate would not have expressed astonishment at the death of Jesus if He had already given permission for His legs to be broken. But it cannot be said that there is anything improbable in the request of the Jews being made after that of Joseph of Arimathæa, for of course there were two other bodies besides that of Jesus. The Jews may or may not have known when they made their request that Jesus was already dead. There is no suggestion that they wished

to offer further insult to the body. They wanted to get all the bodies out of the way before the high-sabbath began, as it did at sunset on the Friday. The soldiers who were to carry out Pilate's order broke the legs of the two robbers, but when they came to Jesus and found that He was already dead they brake not His legs. It was perhaps more by way of precaution than to offer insult to His body that one of the soldiers pierced the side of Jesus. It may perhaps seem strange that none of the Synoptists should mention this incident. None of them does, for the statement of the piercing of the side in Matthew is a later addition. But it must be remembered that the piercing of the side is no part of the death, which had already taken place.

Again, the asseveration of our Evangelist respecting the outflow of blood and water from the pierced side is too solemn to be passed lightly by. Whatever mystical meaning there may be in this occurrence we are not here concerned with. But the reality of the death of Jesus is most certainly affirmed, and the Evangelist in plainest terms claims to have been a witness of this incident.

Now I am far from saying that impersonation in literature is never justifiable, but I do say emphatically that a writer who impersonates another and deliberately says he is not so doing is guilty of an offence for which no epithet would be too opprobrious. In this case the writer says that his witness is true or genuine (*ἀληθινή*). In other words, if he is impersonating a witness, he is guilty of denying the fact of impersonation. It would be indeed strange that the writer of a book such as our Gospel, the sublimity of whose spiritual teaching even opponents of its historicity admit, should descend to such a departure from the truth! This is he who sets forth the Word made flesh as full of grace and truth! This he who represents Jesus as declaring before Pilate that He came to bear witness to the truth!

Our Evangelist concludes his account of the crucifixion by recording, as do the other Evanglists, the burial of Jesus. This was undertaken by Joseph of Arimathæa. Mark and Luke describe him as one who was looking for the kingdom of God. Matthew says that he was a disciple of Jesus. The Fourth Gospel describes him as a disciple, but secretly for fear of the Jews. This is a detail which St. John, supposing our Evangelist to be he, would be likely to know. He also tells us that there came too Nicodemus, he who on the first occasion came to Jesus by night, and that he brought a mixture (or, according to another reading, a roll) of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight. This great weight of spices has been objected to and declared to be unhistorical. But it must be remembered that Nicodemus was probably, like Joseph, a rich man, and it would seem that both men intended to pay great honour to the dead body of Jesus, whom they revered. A more serious objection than the weight of the spices is the difference between our Gospel and St. Luke. The latter represents the *women* as preparing spices and ointments and going with these to the tomb on the first day of the week. Putting the two accounts side by side, I am inclined to think that it was Nicodemus, who, as our Evangelist says, supplied the spices, and that the purpose of the visit of the women on the first day of the week was to apply the spices to embalm the body, there not having been time for this on the Friday evening. Then all had been done, as both St. Luke and St. John imply, in a hurry.

There is in the Fourth Gospel a detail which we do not find in the Synoptists respecting the place of the burial. The tomb where they laid Jesus was, our Evangelist tells us, near at hand, and he implies that it was chosen for this reason. Time was pressing; the day was declining. It was the preparation, the passover was at hand. The tomb then was

chosen because it was near, and it is possible that it was intended to be only a temporary resting-place.

So then in the account of the burial of Jesus we find in our Evangelist details, peculiar to himself, which suggest accurate information, and encourage us in the belief that we have here the record of a personal disciple, who had real personal knowledge of the things which he records.

E. H. Askwith.

STUDIES IN THE PAULINE THEOLOGY.

XII. The Heavenly Citizenship.

(1) When we come to study closely what Paul has to say about the influence of the Church on the world, the life the Christian is to live among men, we are likely to meet with surprise and disappointment, for his standpoint is so different from that which is general to-day. To-day we seem to be more concerned about the soil than the seed of the Kingdom, about the meal than about the leaven, about the flesh to be preserved than about the savour of the salt: or, to use the modern fashion of speech, about the environment than about the organism. Human society—how it is to be purified and perfected—that is our concern, and the Christian Church is valued as it serves as a means to that end. It is no misrepresentation of Paul to say that his interest was exactly the reverse. The Church as the body of Christ was his primary concern, and the world appealed to him only as in need, and capable of being brought into the Church. The characteristic note is struck in the words: "Our citizenship is in heaven; from whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ" (Phil. iii. 20). "Wherefore we faint not; but though our outward man is decaying, yet our inward man is renewed day by day. For our light afflic-

tion, which is for the moment, worketh for us more and more exceedingly an eternal weight of glory ; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen ; for the things which are seen are temporal ; but the things which are not seen are eternal. For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens " (2 Cor. iv. 16–v. 1). " For the earnest expectation of the Creation waiteth for the revealing of the sons of God " (Rom. viii. 19). Paul was a man of *faith* according to the definition of Hebrews xi. 1 : " Faith is the giving substance to things hoped for, the proving of things not seen." " He looked for the city which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God " (ver. 10). He confessed that he was a stranger and a pilgrim on the earth (ver. 13). " He endured, as seeing him who is invisible " (ver. 27). He had " tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the age to come " (vi. 5). The invisible was for him the more real world ; the future was the object of his desire. Accordingly, when he is dealing with human institutions, these are not important to him on their own account ; marriage, property, industry, are not in themselves a good. Only in so far as social relationships affect Christian character have they any meaning or worth for him. All that relates to the outer man is good or bad as it helps or hinders the growth of the inner man. A man's relations to his fellowmen are absolutely subordinate to his relation to Christ. As Paul looked for a speedy coming of Christ to establish the kingdom of God, he did not hope or work for a progressive evolution of manners or morals, relations or institutions.

(2) Paul was, to use the phrase Lord Rosebery applied to Oliver Cromwell, a *practical mystic*. As we follow him in his travels, we see how wisely and skilfully he uses the dispersion of the Jews and the synagogues scattered over the

length and breadth of the Roman Empire as the bridge by which he, a Jewish scribe, can, with his message that Jesus is the Christ, pass over to the Gentiles; how ready he is to seize the advantage for the spread of the Gospel to be gained from the security and facility of intercourse the Roman Empire with its order and arms affords, and from the protection of the law which as a Roman citizen he himself can claim. As we witness him founding Churches, directing their organization, and counselling them in their manifold affairs, we recognize not a visionary, but what to-day is so much admired, an efficient business man. That Paul was practical the results of his labours prove. But this must not hide from us the fact that, however practical, he was a mystic still. The world might be his workshop, or market, or battlefield; but his home was in the invisible and the eternal. If we do not recognize this, we shall run the risk of imposing on Paul ideas that were not present even to his mind, because we assume in him interests that had no place at all in his heart. How can the Christian be a saint in the world? is his problem, while ours is How can society be Christianized?

(3) As regards the individual life, it is the best Jewish and even Gentile morality simplified, unified, and vitalized by love, which he commands in his moral precepts. The Christian is to be an epitome of all the recognized excellences: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are gracious; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, take account of these things" (Phil. iv. 8). There is nothing so original in his moral counsels as to call for special study. But his treatment of social relations does present some peculiar features which claim fuller discussion. As regards the State, Paul was proud of his Jewish nationality;

and in spite of all the persecution which he suffered at the hands of the unbelieving Jews, and which provoked him to utter some vehement denunciations (1 Thess. ii. 15, 16), he remained loyal to his people. " I could wish," he says, " that I myself were anathema from Christ for my brethren's sake, my kinsmen according to the flesh " (Rom. ix. 3). His love inspires the hope, " All Israel shall be saved " (xi. 26). He was not less proud of his Roman citizenship ; and his estimate of the providential function of the Roman Empire was very much more favourable than that which immediately after his death became current in the Christian Church. In his experience the Roman Empire was not the persecutor, but the protector. There seems to be very little doubt that in the Apocalyptic passage in 2 Thessalonians ii. 1–12 the restraint on the final manifestation of the Jewish apostasy is exercised by the Roman Empire. Paul did anticipate the removal of that restraint, but in what way he does not indicate ; and probably he did not even ask himself the question. That Christ might be manifested to overthrow " the man of sin, the son " of perdition, the removal of the restraint on the development of Jewish wickedness to this consummation was necessary. He viewed events not from the standpoint of historical causality, but of divine teleology. As long as the Roman Empire lasted, however, Paul's sole counsel to his converts was submission to its authority—recognized as of God, and as exercised for the punishment of evildoers, and for the benefit to those who did well (Rom. xiii. 1–7). To base on this passage any general or permanent theory of the relation of the Christian to the State is an altogether unjustified proceeding. Who can doubt that, if Paul had been dealing with converts on whom the Roman officials were forcing the demand to worship the emperor, he would have approved an attitude similar to that of Peter and the apostles towards the Jewish rulers, " We must obey

God rather than men " (Acts v. 29) ? One thing his counsel does prove, however, that he had no expectation that the Christian Church would be able to influence the Roman Empire to improve its laws. In the preservation or purification of that society the Christian Church of the Apostolic Age had no interest, as the object of its desire was the kingdom of God to be established at Christ's second coming on the ruins of every earthly kingdom.

(4) That Paul had not the aim of the *doctrinaire reformer* appears very clearly in his treatment of the relation of the " strong " and the " weak " in the Christian Church (Rom. xiv., 1 Cor. viii.). One delighting in moral abstractions would have argued that either the use or the abstinence was right, and that the Church must do its utmost to secure the adhesion of all its members to the proper course. But Paul agrees with the " strong " ; and yet counsels them to consider the scruples of the " weak," and limit their liberty in love lest a brother for whom Christ died should perish. Whether this or that custom prevailed in the Church was to him a matter of entire indifference, even when he himself distinguished the one as reasonable from the other as overscrupulous ; what he did care for was that no man should act against his own conscience under the pressure of the common opinion, and that all should have a tender regard for one another, so as to be willing to surrender rights the claim of which might do injury to others. That each Christian should realize as fully as possible his personal relation to Christ as Saviour and Lord, and that whatever he said or did should be of faith, determined by that relation, was his guiding purpose. That the members of the Church in their mutual relations should only help, and never hinder one another in reaching this goal was his constant concern ; for this end he who was the fearless champion of Christian liberty was the pleading advocate of the surrender of liberty for the sake of love.

(5) It is this practical expediency, which is consecrated by the motive of love, which explains his treatment of the "woman" question. He regards all racial, social, or physical distinctions among men as transcended in Christ. "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 28). An absolute spiritual equality of the sexes in the Christian Church is what he thus affirms. But when some women in the Church of Corinth drew what seemed to be the legitimate and almost inevitable practical inferences from the principle, Paul was found in opposition, and proved himself a thorough-going defender of convention. He insists on women appearing in the public assembly of the Church veiled (1 Cor. xi. 2–16), and on their keeping silence in the Churches (xiv. 34–36).

(i.) His argument for the first demand must be confessed to be an instance of his Rabbinism at the worst. His declaration "that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God" (xi. 3) cannot by any exegetical ingenuity be tortured into anything else than a relapse from the Christian standpoint of Galatians iii. 28 to the lower Jewish, which insisted on the inferiority and subjection of woman. Why "the woman ought to have a sign of authority on her head because of the angels" (ver. 10), whatever Paul may have exactly meant, does not now appear at all self-evident. Nor is the teaching of nature as to the proper length of the hair either of a man or a woman quite so infallible for our judgment as it seems to have been for Paul's (vers. 14, 15). If Paul did not himself feel the unreality of the whole argument, it but shows that he had not escaped altogether from his Jewish entanglements as a Pharisaic scribe when he became a Christian. The first and the last verses give the real reason. He wanted his converts to "hold fast the traditions"

(ver. 2). Conscious probably that his argument could be challenged, he falls back on a last line of defence: "If any man seemeth to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God" (ver. 16).

(ii.) The second demand is supported by an assertion of woman's subjection (xiv. 34), an appeal to the current sense of propriety ("it is shameful for a woman to speak in the church," ver. 35), and an insistence on the authority of common custom. "What? was it from you that the word of God went forth? or came it unto you alone?" (ver. 36). While we must admit this reasoning to be unconvincing, we may now recognize that the apostle was guided by a sound instinct for the expedient when he thus tried to repress innovations in which Christian women were asserting their liberty at the risk of losing their reputation for propriety and modesty, and of thus bringing a reproach even on the whole Christian community. These sentiments of what is fitting in women have their moral value; and although it is needful that they should be modified as moral progress is made in defining the relation of the sexes, yet the hasty and reckless disregard of them does most injury to the woman's cause. That Paul should so unreservedly insist on conventions must, however, be regarded as showing that his interests lay elsewhere than do those of the *doctrinaire reformer* of to-day, who, having got hold of the principle of the spiritual equality of the sexes, would work out the principle to its remotest consequences, and would insist that custom and sentiment should be conformed to the principle. Had Paul had any anticipation of a permanent Christian society on earth, one cannot but suppose that he would have felt the necessity of looking at the relation of the sexes from the Christian standpoint to discover what modifications in custom or sentiment might be necessary. That he never faced this issue is no reason why the Christian moralist of

to-day, free of his preoccupation, should not frankly and boldly inquire whether woman has in modern society the position to which this spiritual equality entitles her, undeterred by his arguments, which cannot claim to be rooted in Christian faith at all. But even the modern reformer, if he is wise, will learn from Paul that common custom, as it cannot be suddenly changed, must not be recklessly disregarded. The "other-worldliness" of Paul, as we may describe his attitude, made it more important for him that no reproach should be brought upon the Christian Church, which would in any way hinder its influence with these without to save them from sin for God, than that the abstract rights of the women members should be recognized; nay even his absorption in this one interest probably is the reason why he who saw so clearly on many moral issues did not even recognize their abstract rights.

(6) In Paul's treatment of the questions of marriage and divorce there is the same spiritual detachment from social relations. He fully recognizes the moral lawfulness of marriage, and even insists in certain cases on its moral necessity. "But because of fornications, let each man have his own wife, and let each woman have her own husband" (1 Cor. vii. 2). "If they have not continency, let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn" (ver. 9). Here he seems to regard it as a moral expedient against sensual indulgence; but even in this chapter he recognizes that marriage may be a personal union, in which a holy influence may be exercised. "The unbelieving husband is sanctified in the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified in the brother; else were your children unclean; but now are they holy" (ver. 14). But that such influence will be effectively exercised he is not certain. "How knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? or how knowest thou, O husband, whether thou shalt save thy

wife ? " (ver. 16). Accordingly he expresses his own decided preference for celibacy, and even desires that it should be universal (ver. 7). He lays down the general principle " It is good (*καλόν*, not merely profitable or advantageous, but simply and morally good) for a man not to touch a woman " (ver. 1). But qualifies the statement in recognizing that his own preference for celibacy may be a gift from God which others do not share (ver. 7). From this standpoint he gives detailed counsels to the married as well as to the unmarried.

(i.) Where both husband and wife are believing he assumes the permanence of the relation (vers. 1, 2), and insists on the mutual obligations which it imposes (vers. 3, 4), but appears to commend a living apart for a time that both partners may give themselves to prayer. While he would himself think more highly of a permanent self-denial, he advises a resumption of these relations as a concession to natural infirmity (" that Satan tempt you not because of your incontinency "). That Paul regarded the normal relation of husband and wife as a hindrance to devotion, and as a concession to moral weakness, must be frankly pronounced a defect of moral insight in regard to this human relationship.

(ii.) Where one partner was a Christian, and the other not, another question arose. Did the difference of faith justify separation to be followed by remarriage ? As long as the heathen partner desires the relationship to continue, it is to be maintained and used for the exercise of a sanctifying influence (vers. 12–14). But the Christian partner must not insist on its continuance, but may welcome release from bondage, as there is no certainty that this influence will be effectual. " If the unbelieving departeth, let him depart ; the brother or the sister is not under bondage in such *cases* ; but God hath called us in peace " (ver. 15). One cannot

but ask, whether, if Paul had fully realized the sanctity of this relation as Jesus conceived it, he could have given such advice. Is the Christian partner walking worthy of his or her calling in showing no further solicitude for the salvation of one so intimately related or in welcoming so readily escape from a difficult situation ? Does the failure of one partner in duty end the obligation of the other ? Would Christian effort of the most devoted and heroic quality be discouraged by the uncertainty of success ? But a further question is involved. Does Paul mean that the Christian thus released is at liberty to marry again ? Nothing is expressly said, but the phrase " is not under bondage " (οὐ δεδούλωται) suggests a complete emancipation from all the obligations of the previous relation. If this be so, it seems impossible to reconcile the advice with Jesus' emphatic declaration about marriage as indissoluble (Matt. v. 32 ; xix. 9).

(iii.) The unmarried Paul advises to continue as they are, unless they cannot restrain their sexual desires (ver. 9). The disadvantages of the married are these : (1) they " shall have tribulation in the flesh " (ver. 28) ; (2) they are " careful for the things of the world " (ver. 33), to please each other, and so cannot be as careful as the unmarried can " for the things of the Lord " (ver. 32). This advice is doubtless, if not altogether due to, yet partly suggested by Paul's vivid expectation of Christ's Second Coming, in view of which an absolute detachment from the present order appeared the appropriate attitude (vers. 29–31). So different is our position to-day that we cannot feel that Paul's counsels come to us now with the authority of the Spirit of God (ver. 40).

(7) But this is not Paul's last word on marriage. In the Epistle to the *Ephesians* Paul reaffirms his belief in the authority of man and the subjection of woman ; but he

insists on the duty of the husband to love his wife, just as Christ loved the Church, even unto self-sacrifice, "that he might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the word, that he might present the church to himself, a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish" (v. 26, 27). There is surely implied the thought that the love of the husband for his wife should have as its end also her perfecting in grace and goodness. A reason on a lower level fellows; the love of the wife is the same as the love of self, for so closely and indissolubly are husband and wife bound together (verses 28, 29). The words which Jesus quoted in proof of the divine intention of a life-long bond are also quoted by Paul in confirmation of this argument (ver. 31). The comparison of the marriage relation to that of Christ and the Church raises the institution into a far higher ethical region than that in which the passage in 1 Corinthians moves. Characteristic of Paul's limitation, however, is it that he requires of the wife, not that she love, but "that she fear her husband." The command which follows to "children to obey their parents in the Lord," and to fathers not "to provoke their children to wrath, but to nurture them in the chastening and admonition of the Lord," show that a common Christian faith was already beginning to purify and sanctify the home (vi. 1–4).

(8) On the question of slavery Paul is guided by the same principle as he applies to the question of marriage: "Let each man, wherein he was called, therein abide with God" (1 Cor. vii. 24). For the Christian life the outward condition is indifferent. In whatever position a man finds himself at his conversion, married or unmarried, bond or free, let him be content to remain in it, and make the best of it he can by God's grace. (ii) A slave is not to be troubled

because he is a slave ; for he is the Lord's freedman. A free man is not to forget that he is Christ's bondservant (ver. 22). The redemption by Christ, to be His possession, is the supreme good, in comparison with which the difference between slave and freeman is nothing. So far does Paul carry this " other-worldliness," that he advises the slave who has the opportunity of freedom not to snatch at it, but to show that a Christian can make the best of slavery. This is the interpretation of the ambiguous phrase μᾶλλον χρῆσαι (ver. 21) which the context demands. Paul would contradict himself, if, after laying down the principle 'Let each man abide in that calling wherever he was called " (ver. 20), he went on to advise the slave to become a freeman whenever he got the chance. As irrelevant to such advice would be the assurance which follows that the bondservant is the Lord's freedman (ver. 22). The spiritual privilege in Christ more than compensates for any social disadvantage the slave suffers. Could detachment from the present world be carried further ?

(ii.) How a slave might prove himself a Christian in that calling wherein he was called, Paul's counsels in Ephesians vi. 5–8 show. All the service to the earthly master is to be rendered from the same motive, in the same spirit, and with the same diligence and fidelity as service to Christ ; and such service will be rewarded by Christ Himself. On the Christian master also rests the obligation to treat his slave in like manner, recognizing that he himself serves the same Master in heaven with whom " there is no respect of persons " (ver. 9).

(iii.) The fullest treatment of the question is found, however, in the letter to Philemon. The lawfulness and rightness of the institution of slavery is there taken for granted. That Onesimus belongs to Philemon, that even the apostle himself has not a right to retain his services, however much

he may desire them, without the master's consent, that Philemon would be justified in inflicting some punishment on his runaway slave, all this is recognized in the letter. But, on the other hand, Paul freely confesses his love for Onesimus, and the value of his services to himself, earnestly pleads not merely for mercy to him in the remission of any penalty he had incurred, but for a welcome to him as "a brother beloved," and tenderly urges his own claim on Philemon as a reason for granting this request. When in Christian households the relation between master and slave was thus transformed, as Paul pleaded and hoped that in this case it would be, then the institution itself was likely to be soon abolished, for the inconsistency between such moral obligations and the legal status would become increasingly evident to the enlightened Christian conscience.

But, just as in the "woman" question, so in the "slave" question, Paul does not think at all about abstract rights, about the inferences that might be legitimately drawn, nay, even must be inevitably drawn, from the general principle of the spiritual equality of all men in Christ. We altogether miss Paul's point of view, and assign to him our modern standpoint, when we suggest as the reason for his treatment of this and other questions, prudence, a recognition of the disastrous consequences to the Christian Church itself of any revolutionary feeling in respect to marriage, or the status of women, or slavery. We can now see that the Christian Church would have perished, had it advocated a general emancipation, had it insisted that the moral rights of slaves should at once change their legal position. We can now see that to insist that the slave could be a Christian, and that the Christian master should treat his slave as a brother was the surer way of at last securing the abolition of slavery. But not such were the considerations which guided Paul. He was not a modern evolutionary philosopher. He did not

believe in, and expect a gradual progress of human society, and so he did not in his teaching give such counsels as would enable the Church to prove itself a potent factor in that development. He looked not for a change in the world around, but tried to show how the believer, whatever his lot, might live with Christ in the world.

(9) Paul had no occasion in any of his letters to discuss expressly the question of private property; but that he never challenged its rightness is shown by two classes of allusions. (i.) On the one hand, he urges the duty of each man to work for his own living (1 Thess. iv. 11); and although as a preacher of the Gospel he claims that he has a right to support from the Churches to which he preaches (1 Cor. ix. 4–14) yet he gives an example of such industry (1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Cor. xii. 13, 14). Vivid as were his expectations of the Lord's second coming he was never carried away by fanaticism to the neglect of the lowliest earthly duty; and he severely rebukes such unhealthy excitement in the Church at Thessalonica: "Even when we were with you, this we commanded you, If any will not work, neither let him eat. For we hear of some that walk among you disorderly, that work not at all, but are busybodies. Now them that are such we command and exhort in the Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread" (2 Thess. iii. 10–12). (ii.) On the other hand he appeals for liberality in giving (1 Cor. xvi. 2; 2 Cor. viii. 7; Gal. vi. 6). Possibly it is for this liberality, or at least for the grace which prompts it, that he gives praise to God in the cry, "Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift" (2 Cor. ix. 15). He insists that God loves such a gift only when it is freely and gladly given (ver. 7); and that it has value only as its motive is love (1 Cor. xiii. 3). He attached such importance to the collection of the Gentile Churches for the saints in Jerusalem, not as a legal due, but as love's free gift, that he was ready

to risk his life in conveying this token of the reconciling of Jew and Gentile.

(10) If Paul's counsels and entreaties to his converts do not afford direct guidance to us in our present practical perplexities, and even if we are compelled to admit that an enlightened Christian conscience to-day cannot solve some of the common problems as he did, yet on the other hand we must not rashly assume that his treatment of such questions has no value for us whatever. For in the first place his absorption in Christ and the kingdom of God, the invisible and the future remains the distinctive Christian attitude. As Christians we too must walk by faith and not by sight. Secondly, this dominant interest does still mean a detachment and an independence from the world ; there must be no such fear of its frown, or hope for its smile as would supplant the Christian desire to be in all things well pleasing unto the Lord ; only those whom the world cannot influence to turn them from their duty can influence the world for its good. Thirdly, as Paul was guided in his counsels and entreaties by the existing conditions of the world as he understood them, so must we in determining our duty, although our outlook on the world may be altogether different from his. Lastly, as for him the fact of fullest meaning and highest worth determining all his estimates and expectations was that Christ had redeemed him from sin by His blood, and that he was being reconciled in Christ to God, so for the Christian Church to-day this is the one thing needful, for a saved Church alone can work for the saving of the world.

Alfred E. Garvie.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

XIX. The Time of and Reason for the Epistle (iii. 14–16).

The Epistle was written at a time when Paul was at a distance from Ephesus; and, though hopeful of soon returning thither, he was quite well aware that it might be a long time before circumstances permitted him to pay a visit to that city.

It has been already pointed out in Section V.[1] that Paul could not have written this sentence while he had in mind the great scheme (expressed in Acts xix. 21, xx. 25, etc., and in Romans generally, especially xv. 24–26) for leaving the Eastern congregations to manage their own life, with the help of letters from himself and of his subordinates, and devoting himself to the establishment of the new Faith in Rome and the Western Provinces. It must therefore have been written either before the scheme was formed in his mind, or after it was abandoned as impracticable and unsuitable. The visit which is meant in iii. 14 is not a mere passing or farewell call: it is one intended for definite congregational work, which (if he could have counted on it with certainty) would have rendered unnecessary the careful instructions about church organization given in chapter ii.

Such a visit could not have been in Paul's thoughts at any time between Acts xx. 25 and the end of the book. It is clear that his whole mind was concentrated during that period on the Roman work (Acts xxiii. 11, xxvii. 24).[2] Nor could any further serious and continued work

[1] Expositor, July 1909, pp. 3 ff.

[2] Visions like those described in the two passages quoted may be taken generally (not always) as the expression and confirmation of thoughts that were floating in the mind of the seer.

in Ephesus have been contemplated by him after the great scheme had taken form in his mind. The scheme is sketched in Acts xix. 21, and must have been in process of formation sooner. Probably, although his residence in Ephesus (Acts xix. 1 ff.) was brought to an end a little before he had intended, yet he recognized then that the foundation and establishment of the congregation had been practically completed before his departure, and he had no thought of revisiting the congregation for serious and prolonged work, but had already fixed his mind on new spheres of action, leaving the Churches that were already sufficiently consolidated to be cared for by his coadjutors and by their own officials. Corinth still needed a good deal of work, and so perhaps did Thessalonica; but otherwise the year between leaving Ephesus and starting for Jerusalem was spent in the work described in Romans xv. 19.

This reasoning compels us to infer that, if the Acts is a trustworthy history, there is no possibility of placing the composition of this First Epistle to Timothy at any point between the date of Acts xix. 21 and the end of the book.

It is, of course, inconceivable the Epistle could have been written at any earlier stage than Acts xix. 21. A formed and organized Church in full working order is presupposed throughout the Epistle.[1] Paul was not writing instructions for a missionary in an inchoate congregation, but for the administrator of a complete Ekklesia.

We must therefore conclude that the Epistle either was written at some time later than the last verse of Acts, or that it is not the composition of Paul, but is a later forgery; and the latter supposition has been already dismissed as contrary to strong internal evidence.

Something also depends on the exact meaning which

[1] See especially Section XIV., Expositor, October 1909, p. 350; also Sections XV.–XVII.

we take from the words "shortly" and "tarry long";[1] these words can be used with very different connotations; and in our ignorance of the exact circumstances, it is impossible to say more than that Paul had in mind a return to and residence for some time in Ephesus, as a sequel to the work on which he was engaged while writing; but that he was fully conscious of causes for delay which might at any moment come into operation.

If his return is delayed, he wishes that Timothy should have before him an outline of the relation which must exist between the various parts of a congregation or household of God. There are various spheres of duty in an Ekklesia or Church of the Living God; and different members must be told off to the different kinds of work which have to be performed. In this allotment of work to suitable persons, and the vigorous orderly performance of it by all, lies the best guarantee for the permanence of the congregation, for the purity of its life, the soundness of its belief, and the vigour of its living faith. The individual can rarely maintain his existence apart from the society of which he is a member. The ordinary man is not strong enough to stand by himself. He is a part of a whole, and not self-complete and self-centred. The Christian ideal differed sharply and diametrically from the Stoic ideal, in spite of many outward and superficial resemblances between them.[2] The Stoic is complete in himself, master of his fate, superior to man and God, independent of circumstances, and able to attain perfection in the development of his own nature. The Christian is a member of a society, viz., the Church of the Living God; and he is largely

[1] *ἐν τάχει* and *βραδύνω*.

[2] There are always certain to be many points of close resemblance between different adumbrations of the "good man," sketched in the same society by various members of it, even from totally different points of view.

(though not wholly) dependent on the maintenance of a healthy life and spirit in that society. The development of the individual is greatly conditioned by that of the society in which he is a part, and in its turn reacts on the development of the society.

It is, however, not Paul's purpose at this present time to insist on what he elsewhere strongly maintains, viz., the influence of the individual on his society and congregation, and the freedom and right of the individual to develop in his own line for his own self through his personal relation to Christ, i.e., through faith. There are not wanting suggestions throughout the Epistle of this point of view; but it was not the view which needed to be impressed on the administrator of the Churches of Asia. In any case it is something outside of himself which is primarily important in the life of the Christian: he cannot attain to perfection through the independent development of his own nature. He must fix his eye and his being on an ideal beyond and apart from himself; he must sacrifice and crucify his natural self in order to attain to the true end of his life; he must live for Christ and in Christ. This end he most easily will attain through the performance of his special duty within his own society, and as a member of that society.

Yet the moment after Paul has enunciated this last idea of the practical means, he is struck with the incompleteness of his statement; and he feels that he must lay additional and special stress on the ultimate aim, the ideal towards which every Christian must strive, the Divine Personality which each for himself must live for and in which each must merge his own wretched life, "this body of death." The higher truth and final aim is expressed in a remarkable passage, of rare but not unexampled tone and rhythm in Paul's writings, a passage which has been

generally regarded with good reason as a quotation from a Church hymn, because it has something of lyric devotional sound and intensity.

The mystery of godliness, the deep-lying idea which brings godliness within the power and grasp of man, is the personality of Christ,

> Who was manifested in flesh,
> Was justified in spirit,
> Was seen by angels;
> Was preached among the nations,
> Was believed on in the world,
> Was received up in glory.

In the first place, is this an extract from a Church hymn? Scholars of the most diverse schools and modes of thought are agreed in recognizing the probability that this is so. It would suit the run of the thought admirably that Paul, after emphasizing the importance of the Christian society and congregation for the development of the individual, should express the truth which lies above and beyond this in a formula taken from the Church service. Nor is there any improbability that already within Paul's lifetime belief had expressed itself in such forms: on the contrary, few will doubt that such crystallization of Christian thoughts in rhythmic form for use in the assembly of the congregation had probably taken place years before his death.

Another view is, indeed, not impossible, viz., that we have here the beginning of what would develop later into a hymn, and that Paul was transported by intensity of feeling at the moment into an almost lyrical expression of the supreme truth. Some scholars may prefer that view. The probability, however, seems distinctly to lie on the side of the first view, to which the overwhelming mass of opinion inclines. But, if that is correct, and if (as we believe), there is here a fragment of a Church hymn, then

we must draw the full inference from that fact. The Church had already accepted universally the marvellous truth of the pre-existence of Christ before He condescended to appear on earth.

That thought is, of course, often expressed in the writings of Paul, and lies at the basis of his thought. His whole philosophy of life and of religion—the two to him are one—is built upon it. But it would be important to have the further evidence, that this same thought was expressed in the plainest terms in a Church hymn, sung in the congregations as a fundamental article of the Christian Faith, already very soon after the middle of the first century, when probably none of the Gospels in the form in which we have them were actually in circulation,[1] and when many of those persons who had seen Jesus were still alive as witnesses of the actual facts.

So long as it is considered uncertain to what period and author the Pastoral Epistles belong, scholars of all schools will unite in recognizing these words as part of a Church hymn; and those who do not like the inferences that must be drawn if the Epistles are the work of Paul, can at present take refuge in the theory that they were written in the second century, and that the hymn belongs to that period. But the evidence will accumulate, and opinion will finally assume a settled form, that the Epistles belong to the period between A.D. 64 and 70; and then the force and implication of the old hymn will be irresistible as to the settled belief in the Church from the beginning. What was sung by all Christians in A.D. 65 must have been a fixed belief of all Christians from A.D. 29 onwards. It is impossible to suppose that any momentous change of

[1] That at least one of Luke's and Matthew's authorities and a first sketch of Mark, were composed by that time, seems to me beyond question.

opinions as to the facts which constituted the basis of the religion can have occurred during that period, while the original disciples were for the most part living.

In the second place, the meaning of the lines quoted requires a short explanation, not as to the religious aspect (which lies beyond the scope of these papers, and which, moreover, is as wide as the Christian religion), but simply as to the mere translation. They are poetic, and we must attempt to think them in prose. They are mystic and transcendental, and we must in a halting imperfect fashion express in more commonplace terms the purpose and order of the thought which they embody.

In Westcott and Hort's edition they are printed as two stanzas ; and this arrangement (which seems to be necessary for the right understanding of them) has been imitated above in the present Section. The first line, " Who was manifested in material form," implies the previous existence of a Being who took on Him the form and the nature of a human being in order to become knowable by men. The next line, " He was made just in spirit," must be interpreted in the sense that, though He became a human being, yet He attained the state of being just, i.e., the state of perfection, in spirit, i.e. in his own character and inner nature, not through the striving after an ideal beyond Himself (as men have to do), but in the orderly and natural evolution of His own personality.

The stanza ends with the line, " He was seen by angels " ; and this line (if the arrangement which we adopt from Westcott and Hort be correct) must be a completion and climax to the first two lines, for the following stanza begins a new series of ideas. Where Paul speaks of the angels his meaning is peculiarly hard for our modern minds to grasp: he is moving amid ideas which are strange and hardly comprehensible to us, ideas divided from us both by the

chasm that separates the Eastern from the Western thought, and by the vast difference between the thought of the first and the twentieth century. For example, who has rightly caught the meaning of "angels" in 1 Corinthians xi. 10? I cannot believe that this line of the hymn refers to some single incident or part in the life of the Saviour, not even to His Ascension into heaven and welcome by angels. It must, as I think, express a third side of His life in material form on the earth, though why such stress should be laid on His being seen by angels during that life, I confess my inability to understand. Perhaps the meaning is that, whereas angels only visit men on special occasions, His life was spent under the eye of angels continuously.[1]

The second stanza describes the effect which His earthly life produced on the world. He was heralded among nations: the distinction of Jew and Gentile disappears: the hymn is unconscious of any difference: "nations heard the message." He was believed on in the world, i.e. among mankind as a whole: the second line states the result of the first. He was taken up in glory: when His work was done, He resumed His Divine majesty and His Divine nature.

XX. Warning to Timothy against Ascetic Teaching.

With the end of chapter iii. we reach the conclusion of a topic which has been treated in a full, orderly fashion, and summed up in a completing and concluding paragraph. One need not, however, expect that the letter should end here. It is not the nature of a letter to expound one topic and stop when the topic has been completed: such a com-

[1] From the grammatical point of view, the tense (aorist) needs notice in this case. The aorist is right because the entire life is expressed as a statement of historical fact; there is no reference to a series of appearances of angels to see, as angels come to visit men when sent to do so: "He was seen by angels."

position would be a treatise, not a letter. The writer of the letter now goes on to address his correspondent further.

The prophetic spirit says in express terms that in later times some shall apostatize from the Faith. The expression, "later times," has no reference to the end of the world; it only sums up the scope of the prophetic utterance which Paul is quoting.

That some definite prophecy is here alluded to seems inevitable. In a sentence which condemns so strongly all hypocrisy and acting, or playing a part, one cannot suppose that Paul is himself playing a part and quoting a fictitious prophecy. Some utterance to this effect had been made in the Ephesian Church, and was well known to the Apostle and to Timothy. The prophecy need not be and ought not to be interpreted as the forecast of a future that was still distant: it was probably a forecast when it was uttered, but it is now being verified in the experience of the Ephesian Church. The present tense "saith" (λέγει) is used, not the past tense; the word of God, whether in scripture or in prophecy, is thought of as outside of and unconditioned by time: "God saith," "I am," and so on.

If this passage were the only one in the Epistle that referred to false teaching, there would be a strong temptation to regard it as referring to a definite tendency and school of thought in the Ephesian or some other Asian Church. But the character of the other references to the false teachers forbids this view, which on closer scrutiny does not suit very well the language even in this passage. The "seducing spirits and doctrines of devils" must be understood to describe some species of philosophy or life outside the Church, which exercised a misleading attraction on those who were within its bounds. The teachers, who were still within the bounds of the Church, caught up this seductive philosophy and practice, and thereby exercised a ruinous

influence on some Christians. The pupils went beyond their teachers, pressing the teaching to its logical conclusions and "falling away from the Faith," i.e. separating themselves from the Church, and attaching themselves to the sect in which the doctrine and practice took its most logically complete form. That the pupil should carry the lessons of a teacher (whether they be good or bad in their tendency) to a more thorough-going extreme than the master contemplated is a common fact, and many examples might be quoted; e.g., the pupil of an Anglo-Catholic has often carried the Catholic teaching to what seemed to him a logical conclusion, and joined the Roman Church.

Such a result was actually taking place at Ephesus. The prophecy of the Spirit was the statement of a tendency prevalent at the moment. Paul was wholly occupied in the battle of his own time, and had no interest in warning Timothy against a danger which might become serious in some future period. He is arming Timothy for a war that has already begun, and which will grow more serious if the enemy is not resisted instantly, skilfully, and powerfully.

The teachers, who found this teaching profitable and useful for their purpose of obtaining pupils, were fully conscious that it was false; they were mere actors, repeating formulae that they did not believe, and thus earning money by means that were disgraceful; they were "branded in their own conscience" as criminals, and knew the brand. Their status as teachers, seeking to attract pupils, has been described in Sections VIII. and IX.;[1] and the passage iv. 1–3 explains more clearly the situation.

The special kind of false doctrine which Paul had in mind

[1] Expositor, August and September, 1909, pp. 167 ff., 264 ff. Simon Magus at Samaria, as described by Luke, may be taken as a typical example of the false teacher who is within the Church and most dangerous to it,

is next described. It was of ascetic character, forbidding marriage, and prescribing abstention from meats,[1] i.e. from certain kinds of food (as, for example, the Pythagorean teaching forbade the eating of beans). He condemns in express terms the second prohibition, stating the noble principle that "every thing created by God is honourable, and nothing is to be rejected if taken with thanksgiving."

This principle does not imply that there was no reason in the Jewish distinction of foods, and prohibition of some foods; but it does imply that no created animal is in itself impure. It does not imply that every kind of animal food should be eaten without discrimination; but it does imply that the discrimination should be on grounds of reason and good-sense, and not merely of religious law.

It deserves note that Paul says nothing formally in the way of argument against this misguided prohibition of marriage. Either he regarded that prohibition as sufficiently condemned by its own irrationality and impossibility, and by the previous teaching in this Epistle about the duties and qualifications of Church officials, or he had some other reason for passing tacitly over the subject, after once declaring in one sweeping statement, that the prohibition of marriage for any class or sect of human beings is a false and daemonic doctrine. It is possible in a somewhat lame fashion to extract from the argument about meats an argument about marriage (as many commentators do); but this seems to be a mere makeshift, devised to explain away the contrast between the clear and explicit argument in the one case, and the silence in the other.

Might we not suppose that Paul felt it better to refrain from entering here on this large topic, in which careful dis-

[1] It is not Paul's purpose to specify the nature and scope of the prohibition: he may probably have included more than one school of teaching about foods, e.g., perhaps (1) Jewish distinction of clean and unclean foods, as such, (2) prohibition of all flesh-eating (which was a common teaching in certain Oriental lands).

tinctions had to be drawn? He had himself in writing to the Corinthians strongly defended the right of voluntary celibacy in cases where one felt that one could serve God better by remaining unmarried. He had even maintained, or at least his words might be understood to maintain, that the life of voluntary singleness was the life of devotion to God, and more honourable than the married life, and that marriage was a concession to the weakness of human nature (1 Cor. vii. 1 ff.). There is, I think, no real inconsistency between the teaching of Paul in the two cases. In writing to the Corinthians he had to defend the right of individual choice and initiative against (as I believe) their suggestion that universal marriage would be a salutary rule to prescribe in the Church. Here he has to defend human society and human nature against an asceticism so exaggerated as to be unnatural and irrational. But, at least some rather full explanation and distinction would have been necessary, if any argument were introduced; and Paul saw no need for an elaborate statement on the subject at this moment.

W. M. Ramsay.

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